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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

A PALACE IN GENOA.

BY EDWARD SPENCER.

X.

The Tapestry Room.

"I know not how, but in yon land of roses
My heart was heavy still;
I startled at the warbling nightingale,
The zephyr on the hill.
They said the stars shone with a softer gleam:
It seemed not so to me!"

From the partial glimpses we have had of Miss Helen Beale's character, the reader may have perceived in it a tempered undertone of romance, the joint product, perhaps, of a convent life and of an exuberant and healthy youth. To this pleasant imaginative vein it is probable the *Palazzo Cieco* owed the partial restoration of its "Tapestry Chamber," which, under Miss Beale's supervision, was fitted up as a species of general drawing-room, where the family could meet on common ground. The stately hall, with its unwieldy furniture, was too lofty, too dismal, too chilly, to suit the young lady's ideas of comfort; and, in casting about for a more suitable place, she had found this room, one of medium size, with a heavily-corniced ceiling, a floor ornamented in mosaic, tall mirrors between the windows, and the windows themselves set in deep frames, that were heavily ornamented in arabesque. The remaining three sides of the room were hung with tapestry of the richest material and pattern, which, though soiled and faded, retained enough of its pristine splendor to attract Miss Beale very sensibly. The pattern of it gave a representation of the valiant feats of Andreas Doria before Venice, and particularly the glorious deeds of arms of a young cavaliero, stately and handsome, who was probably a scion of the house whose fallen glories were now in possession of the Beale family. What gave the room an added charm in Miss Beale's eyes, was the fact that there was a legend attached to it, for the knowledge of which she was indebted to the old Orazio, one of that bare-legged gentry whom George irreverently denominated "hangers-on"—an old retainer, of bent form, and wrinkled, chap-fallen visage, mumbling as he talked—who had been born and bred in *Palazzo Cieco*, and knew no other home at all. As Helen happened to be the only one who had patience to hear him talk—save his grandson, bright-eyed little Pepe, who was Helen's especial favorite—the ancient conceived a great fondness for her, and emptied willingly into her ears his store of legend and tradition, in which the simple *naiveté* of his address and manner more than compensated for the anachronisms and absurdities of his narrative. The legend which he told of the Tapestried Chamber completely charmed the young lady with that room, and decided her in her half-formed purpose of making it inhabitable and pleasant.

Count Garameli, Admiral of Genoa, was the chief honor of the *Palazzo Cieco*, which he had beautified with his wealth, and given fame to by his own distinction. The Count was a proud and haughty noble, and was rather tolerated than liked in Genoa, his genius for war rendering unassailable the high position which his unpopular manners caused the people continually to begrudge him. His name was cursed and dreaded by the proud lion of St. Mark's; and everywhere, from the gardens of the Bosphorus to the piratical harbor of Sallee, the infidel reviled his memory, but shuddered when his name was mentioned or his flag afloat. None ever dared more than Garameli, nor succeeded better in the most desperate undertakings. On one occasion, assisted by some galleys of Rhodes, he had cut out the corn ships from the very harbor of Alexandria; and at another time, descending upon the coast with the swoop of an eagle, he had surprised the Pasha of Marocco in one of his pleasure palaces, and compelled him to ransom his wives and household at an immense expense of treasure. These feats, and his performances against the Venitians, had given Count Garameli such renown, that he was called out, upon all occasions, to vindicate the naval honor of Genoa, and half his life was passed at sea. Although the Admiral had married when young, his wife had died early, and left him childless; and now that his hair and beard were white as snow, the servants and retainers of the *Palazzo Cieco* lamented that the noble domain of the Garamelis was soon to pass away into the hands of a stranger kinsman, belonging to a distant and unknown branch of the family. The Admiral was often solicited to marry again, but was used to point, with a grave smile, to his venerable poll and beard, saying that he had too much regard for the honor of the house to expose it to dishonor and shame by entering into a competition of love with the young and silken gallants of Genoa, who, even if they should fail to achieve the conquest of an old man's bride, would be sure to act the part of Steno to the Venitian Doge Faliero, and make slander do the work in which assiduity was defeated. So, a lonesome home was the stately palace of the proud old Admiral, who had but his glory and the aches and twinges of his honorable wounds to keep him company amid its lofty halls and sounding corridors.

But one day, said old Orazio, there was a mighty clamor through the streets of Genoa, cries of rage and fury, and vehement calls for the Admiral Garameli. The Senate assembled in haste, and soon a deputation was dispatched to wait upon the old Admiral. He received them in the lofty hall—outside there, you know, *signorina bella*—and heard their tale with kindling indignation. A fleet of Algerine corsairs, five cruisers and three galleys, had dared to beard the superb Genoa, even on her very throne. They had fired a shot into Nice, and, oh shame and disgrace! had sunk one of the Republic's war galleys, even within sight of the city! Would the Republic's favorite hero venture once more to sea, to avenge her wrongs, her insulted pride? Such would have been Doria's course, they said. Already a fleet was being equipped for sea, and only waited a commander, whose name itself was a guaranty of victory.

"What ho! without there! My cloak, my corslet, my two-handed sword! I am the Republic's most humble servant, oh reverend signors, and I will punish the insolent pride of the infidel with the sword and with fire." Thus saying, the stout old Admiral donned his cloak and corslet, and, grasping his huge two-handed sword, strode down to the quay, to embark upon his last cruise, followed by the enthusiastic shouts of the populace.

Scarce a month had elapsed, when all the bells of Genoa rang out a peal of triumph, to welcome back the Admiral's fleet, whose battered ships, broken oars, and temporary masts, as they sailed proudly into the harbor, told a tale of desperate and stubborn encounters, while the twenty captive ships that towed at their sterns were a guaranty of another grand victory for the Republic. All Genoa crowded to the quays, to learn the story and behold the spoils. Never had the Crescent suffered from such a raid. Capturing the ships which had put insult upon the Republic, old Garameli had followed up his success by sweeping the whole Algerine coast, and had conquered untold treasure. Twelve hundred slaves were in chains in his ships' holds, ready for service on the Republic's galleys. Chests of richly-carved plate, bags of gold and silver coin, bales of silk, and velvet, and cloth, costliest spices, and most brilliant jewels—all these were among the spoils with which Garameli had rewarded the Republic's confidence in him. What rounds of plaudit and praise greeted the great Admiral, when he made his appearance upon his ship's deck, as it was moored to the pier!

But Garameli did not heed it at all. His sole concern seemed to be bestowed upon a close-hung litter, which was brought upon deck by two of his own servants, and over which he kept watch with a most jealous eye. Bidding the retainers follow, he made way through the pressing throng, keeping a path open continually for the litter, and often striking with the flat of his sword those who were tardy in yielding place. The populace gazed in curious silence upon the litter, but the curtains were close-fastened, and of heavy, impenetrable silk. Scarce a tremor disturbed them, and it was only the evident weight of the vehicle which indicated that it was occupied. Preceded by the haughty old Admiral, it made rapid way through the crowd, followed by a few over-curious persons, who had only the smalll additional satisfaction of beholding it disappear within the gateway of the *Palazzo Cieco*. Meantime, the crowd was eagerly asking of the elated seamen: What does it mean? Who is it? What does old Garameli guard so closely? And then the sailors told, how that, after they had gone into Algiers, and had fired a shot into the very palace of the Saracen Pasha, the Moslem had come out to meet them, most gallantly, with a brave array of ships, banners flying, trumpets braying, and all the panoply of generous war. How the Genoese Admiral, when he had gained sufficient offing, formed his ships in line, backed his topsails, and waited, broadside on, the Turkish assault. How the Moslem ships came on and tried to break the line, and then and there ensued a most desperate conflict, in which the ships lay together, yard-arm to yard-arm, oar tangled with oar, and poured broadsides into each other, till half their guns had burst. How Garameli, raging like a lion, had secured the first sign of victory, by grappling the Turkish Admiral's ship, and boarding. How, though repeatedly repulsed, he at last succeeded in driving the Moslem crew below, and, with his own hand, hauled down the crescent; and, when they saw this, the other Algerine ships, dispirited, attempted to flee, but were captured as they fled. How Garameli, going into the Admiral's cabin, found the desperate Turk, wounded as he was, about to fire a train that would have blown the ship to atoms, and how he would have stricken off the infidel's head, but for the prayers and interposition of "a vision of loveliness"—so they styled her—who was either the Admiral's daughter, or his wife; and who boldly dared to come between him and Garameli's fatal two-handed sword. The old Genoese was arrested by her beauty and her bravery, and, during the two days that his foe survived, treated him with the tenderest consideration. After that, the lady, whom they described in glowing terms, had been removed to the Admiral's cabin, which was entirely given up to her. Indeed, said the sailors, before they got into Genoa, she was virtually commander of the ship. A change had come over the haughty old Admiral, and he who had never stooped to win favor anywhere, now danced attendance upon the beck and nod of a black-browed daughter of Mahound. Such were the rumors which gained currency around Genoa, and, industriously circulated, were perhaps added to by every narrator. The next day, the Senate met, and decreed a sword and a vote of thanks to their brave old Admiral, who had so often vindicated the renown and augmented the glories of the Republic. But, when he was sent for to come and receive his merited rewards, the messenger returned, saying he had not been able to see Garameli, and that the Admiral sent word he was ill, not fit to be out doors—and, besides, was an old man, who did not care for honors. He had given his best days to the service of the State, and now, all he desired was to enjoy a few short hours of domestic ease and quiet, before he took final leave of the things of this life. This message caused much indignation, but the Government were well enough acquainted with old Garameli's brusque manner to pocket the affront, and say no more about it. But, in a few days many strange rumors got abroad concerning affairs at the *Palazzo Cieco*. It was reported that the old Admiral was so completely fascinated with the charms of his prisoner as to be utterly unable to keep out of her sight. That in the daytime he was continually at her feet, lavishing his wealth upon her, worshiping the very ground upon which she trod; and that every night, from dark until dawn, he watched outside her chamber-door. More strange still, it was asserted that he had begged her to give him her hand in marriage, and that she, the daughter of an Emir, and a lineal descendant of the false Prophet—curses on him—was a fanatical Moslem, and had refused to heed his prayers, unless he embraced the foul faith of her fathers, and became a renegade to the Holy Christian Religion! Such was his infatuation, reports went, that he had consented even to trample upon the True Cross to win her smiles, and that already preparations were being made for the celebration of the nuptials, according to the unclean ceremonial used by the Moslem! Whatever truth there might be in these rumors, it was certain that grand preparations were being made for *some* event at *Palazzo Cieco*, for a crowd of upholsterers were engaged in fitting up a suite of apartments, with velvet, tapestry hangings, carpets of Persia, Venitian glass, and every possible appurtenance of the softest and most costly luxury known to that age. The goldsmiths of the city had orders for no one knew how many scudis worth of daintiest filagree work, jewels, &c.; the Lombards of Milan were charged to secure two vases of Messer Cellini's make, at any price; and the painters of Rome had commissions for pictures to an unheard-of value. While these elaborate arrangements engaged the attention of a gossiping city, other rumors began to be rife, respecting both the situation of the enamored Admiral, and the character of his black-browed charmer. She was the most cunning sorceress of the East, skilled in all the Arts of Magic and Diablerie. Some held that she was even the old witch of Mount Atlas, who, withered and shrunken, groaning under the weight of five hundred winters, was yet capable, by her diabolical Art-magic, of investing herself with all the beauty and redundant charms of youth and blushing virginity. By means of her spells she had completely enchained the unhappy *veillard*, and had entire possession of his mind and soul. As soon as she had accomplished her purposes of destroying his soul, and selling him to the Enemy of Mankind, she would burn the *Palazzo Cieco* to ashes, and take flight, amid the smoke, for those infernal regions in the wild desert which were her natural abiding-place. What made matters worse, and gave the affair a decidedly evil aspect to the eyes even of those who ridiculed all such far-fetched and extravagant rumors, was the fact that the aged Admiral, ever since his return, had persistently kept his house, never appearing abroad, and regularly refusing to receive the visits even of his most intimate friends.

At last, Mother Church, spurred on by the indignant remonstrances of the populace, and perhaps by the curiosity or interested motives of some of her own members, determined to make the matter the subject of an investigation. A commission was appointed, consisting of the bishop of the diocese, the parish priest, and the prior of a convent in the neighborhood of *Palazzo Cieco*. This commission, prompted by their knowledge of Garameli's impetuous character, resolved to address him by letter, and accordingly prepared a careful memorial; in which, after setting forth that there were very many rumors afloat to his detriment, propounded to him the following interrogatories: 1. Was it true that he was about to marry? 2. Was the woman of his choice a Christian, and baptized? 3. Was he to be married according to the sacramental requirements of the Holy Catholic Church? These queries had no sooner been sent to Garameli, than they were returned by the hands of one of his retainers, endorsed with an injunction to mind their own business, or run the risk of the bastinado! This was too much for patience; it was an unwelcome office, but, nevertheless, it was their duty to the Holy Faith to see that infidelity should not practice its impious rites, and make proselytes in their very midst. So, they resolved to beard the lion in his den, and, at all hazards, to see this female, who had seduced from the paths of virtue one of the Republic's most valiant sons and most faithful servants. Arrayed in all the awful pomp of full canonicals, they made their appearance at the gateway of *Il Palazzo Cieco*, and were not denied admittance by the terrified domestics. Show us to this woman of Babylon! demanded the Bishop, in imperious accents; and the trembling seneschal, bowing, led the way up the grand stairway, along a softly-carpeted corridor, and opened wide a door, upon the threshold of which they paused, dumbfoundered at the eloquent splendor of the scene. The room was not large, but it was fairly ablaze with wealth. Mirrors, jewels, vases, paintings, tapestry, Persian carpets, Indian shawls, all were there in profusion, and arranged with a careless luxury of taste, that gave them a double effectiveness. The sunlight was shut out by the wealth of purple and lace hangings, but in the corners, swung by long chains, graceful, golden censers, which, while giving a pale, soft light, diffused around the most delicate and voluptuous perfume. But, perfecter than all those jewels, more splendid than all that splendor, richer than all that crowning wealth, was the figure of her who now met their entranced eyes, and seeing whom, they forgot all else. The figure of a female, reclined, after the Eastern fashion, upon a divan, propped by soft cushions, and toying idly with a bunch of luscious grapes, which a black slave boy held for her in a golden salver. The figure of a female, perhaps of twenty years, in the ripe bloom of a superb beauty, her full bosom, all unlaced, panting against the gauzy veil of her tunic, and the matchless contour of her waist and limbs made palpable by the graceful freedom of her Turkish costume. Her soft flesh was white as milk, her long, black hair, stayed by diamond-studded snoods, hung in great satin plaits and folds down to her neck, and her fierce black eyes, veiled beneath lashes longer than they had ever seen, glowed with a rare yet not too voluptuous wealth of passion. As the intruders came to the door, she started, but, instantly regaining her composure, lay still, toying with the purple grapes, and flashing ever and anon a dangerous glance at them from beneath her long lashes. This unconcern, this silence, this disdain, constituted a course of treatment for which the reverend clergy were entirely unprepared, and they were proportionably disconcerted in consequence. They stared at the fair vision, at one another, and again at the lovely creature, who was piercing them with her glances. But it would never do to keep up this dumb-show, in which the woman was sure to conquer, as also they were sure to soften; so, the Bishop advanced a step or two, and stammered out: "We have come to see if you have been baptized." "Baptized! what is that?" asked she, languidly, and with a pretty foreign accent, yet smiling disdainfully, it seemed. "Oh, the ignorance of the daughters of Mahound!" groaned the parish priest, upraising his hands in horror. Instantly the woman sprang to her feet, fury in her aspect. "Who is it dares insult a princess of Cairo, and the wife of Garameli? Dog of a Christian! my slaves shall spurn you from his doors!" "His wife!" ejaculated the Bishop—"his wife, do you say?" "Aye, shaven pate, his wife! dost thou think I would be his concubine?" said the tigress, glaring at them. "Brethren!" cried the Bishop, trembling with indignation—"ye hear the vile sorceress confess her arts and spells! seize her! The dungeons of the church are the meetest place for her who hath seduced a chieftain from the true faith!" The prior and priest advanced to carry out the Bishop's mandate, but, with a shrill shriek, the woman sprang backwards, and, drawing a glittering poignard, waited their approach, with passion-shaken frame, and eyes that gleamed like the roused panther's. Ere the clergy could recover their surprise, or renew the assault, old Garameli rushed in with a growl of rage, and, guessing the state of affairs, paid but little respect to canonicals or ecclesiastical dignity. Using alternately the pummel and the flat of his mighty sword, he drove the priests along the corridor, kicked them down the great stairway, and barred the gate behind their flying forms. He! he! laughed old Orazio, as if he had the scene before him, and rejoiced in any discomfiture of the reverned clergy.

There was a great uproar in Genoa that night, and the Senate passed an immediate decree to seize the bodies of the outrager of Holy Church, and of the sorceress, whose foul arts had made him mad. But when, in the morning, the troops of the Republic surrounded the *Palazzo Cieco*, and forced an entrance, the birds had flown. The tapestry chamber was still there, with all its soft luxuries, but Garameli and his dark-browed bride, and the negro slave boy also, were nowhere to be found. Three closely-muffled figures had been seen, moving along the dark side of the streets, that night; and an old man, a veiled woman, and a negro boy, were said to have embarked the next day, in a fishing-boat from Lerici, on the Gulf of Spezzia. But it was the unquestioned belief of the populace that the witch of Atlas had spirited their old Admiral away, and many had been startled that night by a great light in the sky, which, it was confidently reported, was the infernal contrivance used by the sorceress to conquer space, and rescue herself from the clutches of the Church.

Years afterwards, a captive to the Moslem, who had passed part of his slavery in Grand Cairo, reported in Genoa that the famous Admiral Garameli had died, full of years and honors, in the capital of Egypt, where he and his high-born wife had passed a good long period of unalloyed happiness, enjoying the combined gifts of love and wealth to their fullest extent.

Such was the legend which Orazio told Helen of the tapestry room—the room which, though shorn of most of its pristine splendor, she had thought fittest to be the family withdrawing-room. And in this apartment she was now seated, some fortnight after her arrival in Genoa, with a book before her, but following rather the train of her reflections than the author's text.

Miss Beale's reflections were of a varied character, but their prevalent hue was sad in the extreme. She had been but a fortnight in Genoa, but even in that short time she had fully awakened to the consciousness of how great a responsibility rested upon her shoulders: To restore happiness to her family; to promote their more perfect union; to rouse her mother from her dejection, and pluck her father from out the influence of the mysterious shadow which weighed him down to the earth—these were to be her tasks, the tasks which she had to meet singly and unaided, except by George. Already that worthy fellow had taken her into his confidence, so far as he could at least without betraying his master's secrets, and had confirmed her in her previous suspicions that she could expect little or no aid from Mrs. Beale in her plans for the extrication and regeneration of her father. The poor lady, crushed and broken down by the weight of her undeserved and peculiar misfortunes, and stunned, as the lightning stuns one, by the nature of her husband's crime, and its effect upon him—that husband whom she had been used to exalt so far above herself, and whose slightest word or wish had been her law through life—seemed now utterly resourceless, and only looked towards a brief period of tempered enjoyment of the society of her children, a feeble sort of Indian summer, when the moon might shine, and the days be mild and pleasant, but wherein there was no slightest prospect of renewed bud and blossom, no promise nor chance of dewy May and fiery June. Rest, and no more trouble—this was her constant prayer, her only hope, the *ne plus ultra* of her desires. So long as no storms menaced in the horizon; so long as the earth did not quake, nor the thunders roll; so long as she saw her husband, and conversed with her children, and breathed this pleasant, balmy air of Genoa every day, she was perfectly contented. And, moreover, this shadow had been coming over her for so long, that she had not a proper sense of its blackness. Her husband had been gloomy and morose for months, so that the intensity of his present gloom and moroseness was lost upon her. Still more, of late years she had seen him so seldom, and at such irregular intervals, that she had lost the habit of studying or taking note of his moods. He stood apart from her—she, a lorn and crushed woman; he, a great and mighty man of the world, whose concerns and interests transcended her comprehension. What did she know about speculation—about business? Perhaps this frown upon his brow, this languid step, this weary, distraught manner, instead of being the result of mental agony, may actually be the consequence of the preoccupation of engrossing affairs, and so her expressions of sympathy and attempts at alleviation may prove really an impediment and an annoyance. Feeling thus upon the subject, as undoubtedly Mrs. Beale did, it was impossible that Helen could find anything like an intelligent coadjutor in her prostrate and heart-weary mother.

On the other hand, Rupert's very impetuosity and the lack of prudential restraint, which characterized him, made the young lady fear to call upon her brother. Fiery, proud, impatient, Rupert was already beginning to make himself unhappy with the contemplation of what he considered his "wrongs." He was of age, a man, and yet his father took no notice of him, gave him nothing to do, admitted him to none of the secrets of his family and business, and treated him, in every respect, as if he were the merest child, yet needing to steady his unequal steps by clinging to the nurse's skirts! Was it right, was it just? could he be expected to bestow his respect and love where he was thus neglected and despised? So Rupert shunned the palace with great assiduity, and confined his exertions to visiting aboard an English man of war in the harbor, and to playing billiards in the saloon of the *Caffè Greco*, where he speedily acquired a considerable fondness for *Ponch à l'Americaine* and other fiery preparations of French brandy and Jamaica rum, to which Parisian ingenuity has given seductive flavor and appropriate names.

Thus reduced to her own unassisted efforts, Helen confessed to herself, with a strong feeling of dejection, that her task was a most difficult one. Yet, more urgent than these difficulties, by far, was the necessity to do something for her father, whose condition, she could see, was becoming every day more and more deplorable, without her being able either to conceive the cause, or to invent a remedy. The transient gleam of cheerfulness which had surprised and delighted her on the day after her arrival, had only died away to be succeeded by a gloom thrice as dark. He would keep himself hid from their eyes for days together, and, when he did join the family circle, at meals or other times, haggard, unshorn, morose, silent, there was a wildness in his eye, and a tremor about his lip, and a pleating of his brow, which shocked her far more than his continued absence could have done. She could not conceal from her fears the inevitable tendency of this state of things towards madness. And she was haunted by a continual dread lest even now there were times when he lost his mind—attacks of delirium, which he was as yet able to conceal from the observation of the family. Could this be the dreadful secret which oppressed his life and robbed her poor mother of all spirit and energy? And, for a moment, her excited imagination reverted to that horrible picture of Rochester's mad wife in the novel of "Jane Eyre," until she fairly shuddered at the dreadful associations it called up.

Helen's mind was in this state, harassed by shadowy doubts, haunted by dreadful suspicions, and a prey to gloomy fears, when she received a visit from George, whose kindly solicitude for his "marster's" well-being was at once so untiring and so intelligent, that it made him the master-spirit of the scene. Miss Beale was in her parlor at the time of his visit, and gave him a kindly welcome, having a sort of prescience that he was to be, in some sort, the guide and governor of her actions. George seated himself, and, twisting his cap in his hands, looked at her for a moment, almost sadly. Then he drew a strong breath, and spoke.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

NORTH CAROLINA.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Council of State of North Carolina, at a meeting held in Raleigh, Dec. 6, 1859:

Resolved, by the Council of State of North Carolina—

1. That the prompt, vigorous, and effective measures adopted by the Governor of Virginia for suppressing the treasonable invasion of that State at Harper's Ferry have our warm and unqualified approval. That our fellow-citizens of the State of Virginia are hereby assured of our entire sympathy in their present disturbed condition; that the cause of Virginia is the cause of North Carolina, and her destiny is our destiny. That we will be prepared at all times to sustain her in her efforts to maintain and uphold the rights and vital interests of the slaveholding States; that those rights and interests can never be surrendered without dishonor and disgrace, and without causing a state of confusion and anarchy which will mark the destruction of the liberties and happiness of the people of both States.

2. That our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to the President of the United States for the promptness with which he has sustained the Governor of Virginia in upholding the laws and in restoring tranquillity to the people of that Commonwealth; and that our confidence in the devotion of the President to the Constitution and the rights of the States is undiminished.

3. That the union of the States can only be perpetuated so long as it continues to be a Union of equals. We are still devoted to it, and would behold its dissolution with profound regret; yet, if we cannot hold our slave property, and at the same time enjoy repose and tranquillity in the Union, we will be constrained, in justice to ourselves and to our posterity, to establish new forms and provide new guards for our security and well-being; relying for success in so doing on the righteousness of our cause, and on the support of that Providence who so signally guided and succored our ancestors in times of danger.

4. That while declaring our sincere devotion to the Union, according to the Constitution, as it was established by our forefathers, and while we are ready to uphold and maintain it as a common Union of equals, we are not unmindful of the fact that the disturbers of our peace have received and are receiving the active sympathies and the substantial support of large portions of the people of the non-slaveholding States; and that it behooves the people of the non-slaveholding States, if they would restore "domestic tranquillity" and perpetuate the Union, to rouse themselves from the condition of indifference and lethargy which seems to prevail among them, and to adopt such measures and take such action as may be necessary to prevent a continuance of assaults upon the South, and as may assure our people that they are still faithful as confederate States to the common Constitution which still unites us.

5. *That the sense of insecurity existing among our people*, in consequence of a want of competent military organization and effective weapons with which to arm the militia, in view of the threatened disturbance of our peace, imperatively demands prompt action on the part of our State authorities. That we advise his Excellency the Governor to cause the militia of the State to be efficiently organized, by encouraging the formation of volunteer companies, and by such other measures as he may deem proper; and that be apply at once to the President of the United States for a sufficient number of effective weapons to arm thoroughly the militia of the State.

6. That inasmuch as certain papers and books of an incendiary character, calculated and having a tendency to excite slaves to acts of insubordination, are being circulated in this State, through the post office of the Government, by fanatical clubs and societies in the Northern States, we advise his Excellency the Governor to take all needful action to prevent the same; and that all postmasters in this State be forbidden, under the penalty of the law, to deliver any such newspaper, book, or other publication, whether written or printed, from his office, to any person to whom it may be directed, as such conduct on their part will be regarded as a circulation of such paper or book.

7. That whereas, under the cover and disguise of pursuing peaceful occupations, many dangerous emissaries from the Northern States have traversed this State, secretly instilling their insurrectionary passions into the minds of our slaves, we advise his Excellency the Governor to require our justices of the peace and other peace officers to cause all strangers from non-slaveholding States, canvassing this State as venders of merchandise, or solicitors for the sale of the same, lecturers, tract and book agents, or for any other purpose whatever, to be subjected to the strictest scrutiny; and whenever, upon such scrutiny, any suspicious circumstances attach to any such persons, they be placed under bonds to keep the peace and observe the laws of this State, and for failure to give the required bonds, to be confined in close prison, as persons dangerous to the peace of the State.

8. That his Excellency the Governor be requested to send copies of the foregoing resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the President of the United States, and to his Excellency the Governor of the State of Virginia.

For the National Era.

LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A YOUNG WESTERN HOUSEKEEPER.

Oct. 30.—Tommy delights greatly in old Roman legends, and fights Punic wars with the clothes-pins and chess-men, or struts around with a bunch of rods at his back, fancying himself an old Roman lictor, and longing to exercise the prerogative of office upon poor little Lew, who is guilty of many an act of high treason, and whose little dimpled shoulders are no doubt very suggestive. I often compare Tommy's childhood and education with my own early experiences; he gives promise of a bright intelligence, gathering his crumbs of knowledge through pictures and cheerful answers to his eager questions. Sometimes under the shell-bark trees, or in a ride to the post office, as pony jogs along, this little six-years old rogue will acquire the leading incidents of a book of travels, such as Kane or Livingstone, or at least such incidents as would strike a child's fancy; and I hold, with Walter Scott, that it is useless to burden a child with anything more; they reject hard thought with disgust, and it is wasting one's breath to hammer it into them, and they break down into dyspepsia and pale faces over the hateful tasks of the school-room.

I have often thought I would write the history of the United States myself for my children, rather than drag them through the inquisitional pages of Frost and Grimshaw. I would tell them all about Pocahontas, and King Philip, and Father Hennepin, and the hard favored old Puritans, or read them bright sketches of revolutionary days in Harper's Magazine; but as for lines of dates, and columns about patents and charters, and war negotiations, and all such horrid hobgoblins to tender minds, I wouldn't have one of them in Tommy's book; and yet he should have as good a knowledge of history as any boy of his age, whose animal spirit has not been annihilated by the pedagogue.

These views are not very orthodox, but to my mind, there is no greater object of compassion than a sweet, laughing boy of twelve, with his heart full of merriment, and his limbs fairly aching for activity, and his head full of skating and shinney, and the goose that he saw going home in the family dinner basket, all pinned down, like a maniac in a straight jacket, with Lexicon and mathematics harassing his very soul, and wringing from his rosy lips execrations and lamentations, such as make angels weep.

In the historical line, children of the present generation cannot be sufficiently thankful for such amelioration as has been wrought by men like Abbott and Bonner, who have set forth but little that is not lively and attractive in their pages—and only a date here and there—great landmarks in time, on which memory should rest with unerring distinctness. But as for the heart-sickening chain of dates (from the days of Noo down) which was expected of school-children in my time, I must lift up my protest against it as a species of juvenile martyrdom equal to the Chinese shoe or the clamp of the flat-headed Indian.

As I write, I seem to see the grim figure of my quondam Goody Two-Shoes rising before me, like Banquo's ghost, with her long curl-papers and leg-of-mutton sleeves; and a strong nervous contraction of the palm of my hand reminds me of her malicious old ferule. I can hear her now, revelling in such questions as these: "At what time does this period begin?" "When does it end?" "At what time was the charter granted to the Plymouth Company?" and so on. And I see my twin sister and myself again shivering in the class, with a dozen other trembling innocents, as the inexorable "Next, next," passes from one poor little drooping head to another, and then the angry dismission to our seats, with the sentence passed that we are "kept in"—and there we sit, in vacant, silent absorption, until our two extra hours are fulfilled, and with empty stomachs and broken hearts we at last reach our homes. Here dinner is over, but dear old Ellen, the housekeeper, has put away our plate-full, good and warm, and oh! she looks so very sorry for our tearful faces; but she lets on never a suspicion that we have been punished; only her very kindness, in contrast with the severity of the school-room, is oppressive; so we seek poor dumb Kitty; but Kitty seems to stare her great glass eyes wider than ever at us, and we feel that even Kitty must know our disgrace. Very shy are we little folk of the senior part of the family that day; but when evening comes, and we are sent to the old study with our books, to pour forth all our pent-up wretchedness on dear Harry's brave little breast, what fresh courage we take when he cracks his little dumpling fist on the table, and "vows he will knock her down, as sure as fate!" After this heroic explosion, we toil on hopefully with the lessons, and as the drooping eyelids dimly con the tenses of the potential mood, the tired head is bowed downward upon the dusky page, and we dream, oh, what sweet dreams! How Hal had become a man, and that he may, can, must, might, could, would, and should, become our liberator; and how, with sword in hand, he bursts asunder the prison doors of the school-room, and Lilla and Gertrude and I walk forth into the fresh air, forever free! while the Goody is pinned down to her chair of state, and locked up in her old dungeon, never, never to escape!

Ah! wherefore should all these feverish influences attend Life's earliest *trial of strength?* Why should the growth of discipline be esteemed the object of paramount importance, rather than the easy and willing progress of the tender band of disciples? Why may we not have the sunshine of poetic association, in exchange for the dark cloud of despair under which our school, nurslings have pined and dwindled away? We want the cheering rays of picture illustration to break in upon the dingy dignity of school-room walls. We want the sweet presence of Evangeline and Hiawatha; but here I am reminded we have no national minstrelsy. And how happens this? "There's nae a nook" in bonnie Scotland unsung by her Burns or Scott; Ireland has Tom Moore; France her Béranger; England her legion; but America alone is without her lyric bard. We want a poet for our fireside and homes—a poet who shall entwine our history as a nation with the affections of our childhood—one who shall sing of our vast prairies and savannas, our sweet lakes and broad rivers, our bold forests and sylvan caves, with the glowing spirit of love, that would bring to remembrance our mothers' nursery wreath of tales, traditions, smiles, tears, and sweetest lullabies. Why have not Longfellow and Bryant wrought this? Whittier has done most. They have all done somewhat, but my heart is grieved when I think how much they have left undone. Why must the young Excelsior needs pack his "banner of the strange device" far up the Alps, as though we had no mountain heights at home? And why do our poets' fancies carry us from the Spanish Student to the Valley of Dry Bones, far, far away, forgetting the thousand dearer themes that lie all round us here? Who will strike the patriot's lyre, and give to our cottages and to our schools the heaven-born guest, historic song?

For the National Era.

LAMENT OF MRS. MARTHA JANE BECKLEY.

BY SLOW JAMIE.

The Sabbath! at that hallowed name,
What mingled thoughts will start;
To me it speaks of pain and fear,
And grief to crush the heart;
Yet brightly gleams the cheering sun,
When blackest clouds depart.

Three little lambs adorn my flock,
And gambol in their play;
Their harmless mirth recalls my home,
And childhood's happy day;
I seem amid familiar scenes,
Though now so far away.

But, ah! one rosy face is missed,
One curly head of gold,
Whose beauty feeds the greedy worm,
Or withers in the mould,
And leaves a void within my heart,
As well as in my fold.

Just twenty short andha ppy months
This gem to me was lent;
Its light was joy, and hope, and love,
But, ah! so quickly spent;
Upon a Sabbath eve it came,
And Sabbath morn it went.

The Sabbath day! that Sabbath day!
What mingled thoughts do start,
Of fear and pain, of grief and wo,
That press upon the heart;
Yet brightly gleams the cheering sun,
When blackest clouds depart.

The loss, which I can ne'er forget
Until my dying day,
Will often raise the happiest thoughts
That cheer the pilgrim's way,
And throng around his lonely path
In all their bright array—

Of him who on the Sabbath rose,
A conquering king to be,
Who in his time will surely come
To set the prisoners free,
And who of little children said,
"Let them come unto me."

THE FREE NEGRO QUESTION.

Justice Catron on the Question of Enslaving Free Negroes.

A bill is pending before the Tennessee Legislature, aimed against free negroes, designing to either drive them from the State, or enslave them. Justice Catron, of the Supreme Court of the United States, has written to the Nashville *Union and American* the following letter, protesting against the passage of this infamous bill:

To the Editor of the Union and American:

DEAR SIR: I have for several weeks past been anxiously waiting to hear what the views of your leading journal were on the bill pending before our Legislature, proposing to enslave, or drive from the State, the free colored population now amongst us. It provides that these persons shall be seized and sold, if found here after the first day of May next, if they are adults—and that the children shall be bound out, &c.; the adults are allowed to emigrate to Africa, in which case some slight aid is to be furnished by the State, to assist in their transportation; or, secondly, they may seek a master and go into slavery.

Now, who are these people? There is not one in one hundred of them, to say the least, that ever has been a slave. Usually, their mothers, grandmothers, or great-grandmothers, were slaves, who were emancipated by masters for meritorious services, or from benevolent motives, by the courts of justice, and according to law. *They all have a vested right to freedom by the judgments and decrees of courts.* Under our Constitution of 1796, the free colored men voted at the polls. That the old Constitution extended to them, and protected their rights to a certain extent, is free from doubt. But I pass by this question.

My objection to the bill is, *that it proposes to commit an outrage, to perpetrate an oppression and cruelty.* This is the plain truth, and it is idle to mince words to soften the fact. Let us look the proposition boldly in the face. This depressed and helples portion of our population is designed to be driven out, or to be enslaved for life, and their property forfeited, as no slave can hold property. The mothers are to be sold, or driven away from their children, many of them infants. The children are to be bound out until they are twenty-one years of age, and then to leave the State or be sold; which means, that they are to be made slaves for life, in fact. Now, of these women and children, there is hardly one in ten that is of unmixed negro blood. Some are half white; many have half-white mothers, and white fathers, making a cast of 87½-100ths of white blood; many have a third cross, in whom the negro blood is almost extinct; such is the unfortunate truth. This description of people who were born free, and lived as free persons, are to be introduced as slaves into our families, or into our negro quarters, there to be under an overseer, or they are to be sold to the negro-trader and sent South, there to be whipped by overseers—*and to preach rebellion* in the negro quarters—as they will *preach* rebellion everywhere that they may be driven to by this unjust law, whether it be amongst us here in Tennessee, or south of us on the cotton and sugar plantations, or in the Abolition meetings in the free States. Nor will the women be the least effective in preaching a crusade, when begging money in the North to relieve their children, left behind in this State, in bondage.

We are told that this "free-negro bill" is a politic, popular measure. Where is it popular? *In what nook or corner of the State are the principles of humanity so deplorably deficient, that a majority of the whole inhabitants would commit an outrage not committed in a Christian country of which history gives any account?* In what country is it, this side of Africa, that the majority have enslaved the minority, sold the weak to the strong, and applied the proceeds of the sale to educate the children of the stronger side, as this bill proposes? It is an open assertion that "might makes right." It is reopening the African slave trade, in fact. In that trade the strong capture the weak, and sell them; and so it will be here, if this policy is carried out.

All over the State, those who are responsible for passing the bill will have to contend with fearful public opinion, made up of all the women who have moral characters and religious feelings; backed by the clergy, and assuredly by a very large majority of the members of all the churches; for we must carry along with us the important fact, that numbers of the people sought to be enslaved or driven out belong to, and are members of, our various churches, and in full communion. That these great bodies of Christian men and women will quietly stand by and see their humble co-workers sold on the block to the negro trader, is not to be expected; nor will any set of men be supported, morally or politicaly, who are the authors of such a law.

Nor is this half the truth. Take all the free States, and how will the matter stand? There, those stanch and upright men who are struggling to uphold the Constitution and laws, and to protect the rights of the South in the enjoyment of their slave property, will be met by our law; will be taunted before the million; will have it put to them squarely whether they sanction this cruel measure as a part of the Southern creed, to wit; that all negroes, and those of negro origin, can be rightfully sold into Slavery, or driven from their children and the place of their birth, at the unrestrained will of the Southern white man? What Northern man, that has manhood in him, will not exclaim, "I abhor such a law!" It cannot be otherwise than odious to the North.

If such a measure of persecution was the work of some new weak State, and this thing done in a corner, it would not be so bad; but Tennessee is a proud, successful community, that has for thirty years exercised a controlling influence in the affairs of the nation; she has made two Presidents; has long stood in the front rank of the great party that has governed the country so successfully for nearly sixty years, and therefore her legislation may well be cited before Northern crowds, as declaring the sentiments of the South. I put it to any fair-minded man to say whether this law, if it is passed, will not go far to *crush out* our friends in the North, and yet more strongly mark the *black* sectional line between the free and the slave States?

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. CATRON.

INKLINGS FROM THE FRONTIER;

OR,

LIFE ON THE PLAINS AND ADVENTURES IN THE TENTED FIELD.

CAMP ON BEUNA VISTA PLAIN.

To the Editor of the National Era:

But before speaking of these Indians, or describing the picturesque landscape scenery of this beautiful plain and its charming environs, I must say something of the fine country over which we travelled, coming here from Cyote creek.

A pioneer party were sent out to prepare a road. Their first work was to cut a passage down the steep red banks of the Washita, and up again on the other side, where we had the river to ford. When over the river, our course lay down the south side, over a rich bottom of alluvial soil, and across several fine wood-belted creeks running down from the mountains. Over two of those streams the pioneers had to build bridges before the column could proceed. After travelling down the river-bottom for several hours, we turned to the right, and ascended to the high table-lands by a gradual slope. From the point of view now obtained, we had a grand and imposing landscape in sight.

As I rode along, I took great pleasure in noticing how Nature seems to have exerted herself in forming lovely sites for rural retreats and charming country villas. Man has here only to avail himself of the hints and kind offers of Nature, to make this valley a blooming paradise, far surpassing Italy, or any other spot on earth, in all that is quiet and beautiful. Here he will find every natural advantage, lovely vales, dells, lawns, parks, gently-sloping hills, terraced hillsides, smiling little prairies, and charming sylvan haunts, all of Nature's own fashioning, and wanting but little decoration from art. And to make human happiness complete, numerous springs of pure cold water gush out at convenient distances, fine trout streams go purling along, thousands of gay birds flit hither and thither, and gladden the day with their merry songs, thousands of sweet-scented flowers fill the air with fragrance; a pure, healthful, invigorating atmosphere supplies the lungs with fresh oxygen; a bright, blue, unclouded sky, and a mild, salubrious climate, not unlike that of Southern Italy.

How long must this fine country, with all its loveliness, lie undisturbed in its native solitude, before civilization is permitted to make its impress upon it?

After travelling a few miles on the highlands, we came in sight of an extensive Indian encampment, lying far off to our left in a beautiful valley plain. Heading off several deep ravines, we turned to the left, and went down near the camp, where we pitched our tents.

Beuna Vista Plain is truly a beautiful view. Its length from north to south is about six miles, while its greatest width is about three and a half miles. The surface of the plain is perfectly level, varied only by three brooklets of clear, fresh water, which start from springs in the hillside, and meander their course across to the river. On one side it is environed by a majestic, crescent-shaped forest, belting the Washita, while a crescent of terraced hills rises from the other side, and continue their upward slope until they reach the Wichita mountains. The Indian lodges and wigwams are pitched along the margin of the forest, extending in a line for miles. Our camp is located on the first terrace that rises above the plain. All the surroundings are picturesque in the highest degree.

This Indian encampment is composed of the remnants and fragments of several tribes, comprising the Caddos, Camanches, Delawares, Shawnees, Toukawas, Wacos, and Wichitas—and among them, wandering representatives of ancient tribes, now extinct as organized clans, thoroughly Indianized negroes and mulattoes.

They have but just taken the first step towards civilization, yet they evince a willingness and an eagerness to progress as rapidly as possible. They have placed themselves under the care and direction of an Indian agent, and are at present dependent almost solely upon Government for their food and clothing. At this time, they are all in one encampment, having but recently removed from their old reserve in Texas. But by winter this section of country may be apportioned off for them, and each tribe established on the respective share allotted to it. I have not learned exactly how large these reservations or districts are to be, but I believe from ten to twenty miles square, according to the size of the tribe.

The young and more enthusiastic portion of these Indians, especially the women, seem highly elated with the idea that they are to become a stock-raising and agricultural people. And it is to be hoped that they will not be disappointed — that Government will supply them with efficient agents, missionaries, and instructors, good schools, manual labor farms, mechanical workshops, and all other requisites for taming their wild natures, culturing their untutored minds, and bringing them into the folds of religion and civilization.

The population of this encampment is quite numerous, comprising near three thousand Indians, probably over two thousand ponies, about fifteen hundred head of horned cattle, (beeves belonging to Government,) two or three thousand dogs and cats, and numerous *wigwamhold* pigs and sheep. The yelling, singing, and dancing of the Indians; the laughing, crying, and frolicking of their little ones; the neighing, careering, and prancing of the ponies; the lowing and bellowing of the cattle; the barking and playing, squalling and frisking, of the dogs and cats; the squealing of the pigs, and the bleating of the lambs, all together, furnish a striking contrast to the quiet scenes of solitude we have left behind, and give a grand exhibition of bustling life and intense animation.

An old Indian told me that it was the determination of his people, the Tonkawas, to adopt the white people's mode of life. I afterwards had an interesting conversation with a merry group of dusky boys and girls, who were very enthusiastic in their anticipations of the future. They told what pretty houses and fine farms they are going to have—how they are going to raise horses, cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, and all sorts of domestic fowls; what fine wheat, corn, pumpkins, and melons, they intend to grow. It was really a rich treat to hear these little folk run on and tell their hopes, aims, and ambition, in their broken English, so curiously mixed up with Spanish. And I hope some day to visit them, when their brightest hopes are realized.

At night time, when all nature is in repose, these Indians steal forth from their quiet wigwams to enjoy social sports, and indulge in convivial pastimes. And, on the sweet-scented greensward, the dance and the song goes merrily on, sometimes until the gray streaks of the coming morning begin to thicken in the East, and chase away the shadows of night. The Camanche's serenade I admired much. There is a wild grace and weird music connected with it, that charms one with the performance. The young folk have a social game somewhat resembling the Irish game called "shuffle the brough." Fifteen, twenty, or more, of both sexes, sit on the grass, and in a ring; each one has a small switch. One person takes his or her station inside the ring. A ring of dried grass runs around just in front of the sitters, through which a pond-lily pod is kept passing. If the person standing within the ring guesses the whereabouts of the pod, and strikes it with the stick, he or she is relieved by the person opposite to whom the pad is found. If, however, they guess wrong, and strike without hitting, they get a sharp lick from all the keen little switches. One night, while watching the progress of the game, I was invited to participate; but at first declining, I was laid hold of by a bright-eyed, dusky maiden, and made to take my seat by her side. But by her dexterity in keeping the pod passing, I did not have to undergo the torture of the switches.

Polygamy is here practiced to a considerable extent. Nearly every adult male Indian who can afford it has more than one wife. I visited the wigwam of a large, corpulent fellow, who indulged himself in seven of these luxuries. He proffered to sell me the youngest and prettiest of his wives for my horse. She was a Lapan, as he informed me, and had been taken prisoner, when quite a girl, by the Southern Camanches, of whom he had bought her. I find this thing of buying and selling women to be quite common.

Although the sale of liquor is strictly prohibited by Government, it is kept and sold among these poor Indians. During my stay among them, I saw several of them beastly drunk, and several offered to treat me from long, black bottles. I have a very poor opinion of most of the Indian traders I have yet seen. They look to me like a mercenary set of cut-throats, who care for nothing but making money, and would not scruple at any means to accomplish the one grand object of their lives. Undoubtedly there may be some honest, upright traders, who would not contaminate the Indian with the vices of civilization. But Government should be very careful as to who are licensed to traffic with those untutored people.

I saw Major Blain, the Indian Agent, several times, but did not become acquainted with him, and therefore I shall not express my opinion, pro or con, as to his fitness for the responsible post Government has seen fit to assign him. He is a very plain, ordinary-looking man, with a countenance not very remarkable for either intelligence or honesty. At first sight, I mistook him for an ox-driver. But then, you know, appearances are often deceiving.

Of one thing, however, I am thoroughly convinced; and that is, that Government has now a fair opportunity of trying its hand on a new and improved method of civilization, and it ought to avail itself of every means in its power. Let the Caddos, Camanches, Delawares, Shawnees, Wacos, and Wichitas, who have surrendered themselves into the hands of their pale-faced brothers, receive from their hands the care and attention their wants require.

Their physical wants are already pretty well supplied. Government has furnished them with blankets, and is furnishing them with food. They draw flour, sugar, coffee, beans, rice, salt pork, fresh beef, &c., the same as the army; excepting the army draw full rations, while they only draw three-fourths. They are supposed to make up the other fourth by hunting and fishing.

Now let the spiritual [illegible] civil wants be attended to. Yours, truly,

GUY OAKLEAF.

For the National Era.

WHAT DO THEY WANT?

Or, rather, what *can* they, as reasonable men, expect of persons opposed in principle to slaveholding? Can they expect that such persons, believing as they do that slaveholding is *a wrong*, will compromit principle, and, out of pure regard for the slaveholders, and to make them feel less insecure in their possessions, abolish the liberty of speech and of the press in the Northern States? Is this what they expect? Is this what they desire?

There are millions of people in the United States, and not a few in the slaveholding States themselves, who conscientiously consider the "Institution" a monstrous *wrong*—as clearly a wrong as extortion, fraud, cheating, stealing, robbing, are wrongs—for *it* has a common origin with *them*—inordinate selfishness, which is condemned alike by the teachings of Christ and by right reason. Necessity cannot be pleaded in palliation, for the power that is requisite to reduce or to hold the labor of another man to my exclusive use, proves a physical ability to be existing in me to earn my subsistence by my own labor.

Honestly believing this, is it reasonable in the wrong-doer—so considered by me—to expect that I will, as an honest man, forbear to condemn the wrong whenever I may have occasion to refer to it? To whose ears do I speak of it, and to whose eyes do I write? Not for those of the slaves, for they are too distant to hear, and are so compassed about with domestic and police regulations, that my words cannot reach their ears, nor my writings their eyes; nor could they indeed read it, if it were laid before them, ignorance of letters being forced upon them by law.

Why, then, should I forbear to speak and write in condemnation of slaveholding as a moral wrong? My talking and writing are not expected or intended to reach the slaves. Perchance they may reach their masters; and shall I therefore be silent, lest an arrow from my bow should pierce the conscience of the wrong-doer, and discharge a long-cherished abscess of a mass of corrupt and degrading principles?

It seems to me that no really rational man can expect us thus to muzzle our own speech and our own presses. If a thing so unreasonable is expected, it were well enough to let them know at once that their expectation is as vain as it is unreasonable. Let them then make up their minds, without more ado, to endure as well as they can a pain which is without remedy; for, so long as Slavery endures, and there are minds and souls in the world which regard it as a moral wrong and political evil, so long will it continue to be condemned and reprobated. And slaveholding, simply of itself, is not all, in regard to the people of color in the South, that must continue to elicit expressions of abhorrence and condemnation. Among the odious consequences of the "institution," that of divesting free people of their liberty by law—reducing them and their children to Slavery forever, if they dare to remain in their native land—not as a penalty for crime of which they have been duly convicted, not even for an alleged offence, but merely because their freedom may possibly inspire the slaves with *desires* for liberty, is so extreme a degree of barbarity and oppression, that it is not possible for any one imbued with principles of justice and humanity to contemplate the hideous monster without loathing and indignation.

That Slavery is *a political evil*, the simple fact, that it has caused the Union itself to be threatened with dissolution is a demonstration. Nor do they who so flippantly threaten the country with this dire calamity hope for it as a measure of redress. By no means. They are not fools—far from it—and only idiots can see any advantage whatever to be gained for slaveholders by the severing of the bond that binds these States in one. No; it is not redress they seek, but revenge. They know well that there

is no part of the country that needs the stability of the Union in an equal degree with the South. They destroy the Union! It can only be in the hope that, like the Philistines who were crushed with Samson when he removed the foundations of the temple of Dagon, the North must be involved in the general ruin which the dissolution of the Union must produce; for they know full well that such an event must bring swift destruction upon the "institution," and that without remedy.

On the dissolution of the Union—could it be effected—what would become of the fugitive slave law and those "compromises of the Constitution" which they claim as guaranties of the existence and perpetuity of Slavery? What would be the condition of Slavery in those States along the dividing line—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri? How long, think you, would they continue slave States? Is there anywhere a statesman with mental vision so clouded that he cannot see that self-interest, on the slightest prospect of probable dissolution, would force the slaveholders in those States to hurry off to the States south of them every slave they possessed? Then, free laborers must supply the places of the slaves; and in a single generation all sympathy among them for Slavery would be obliterated.

Reflecting dissolutionists, however, are not a little puzzled to devise the ways and means of effecting their object. A little reflection presents insuperable difficulties. Some have suggested the retiring of the Southern members of Congress in a body; but this is given up, as a majority would remain, and the wheels of the great machine would still move on as well without the absent members as with them, and perhaps a little better. Others advise proclamations and declarations of independence by State Legislatures or Conventions. But they know very well, or ought to know, that no State declarations or proclamations can stop the operations of the General Government. The Union of these States is not to be dissolved by *words*. It can only be done by a successful armed resistance of the execution of the laws of the United States.

If the execution of the laws of the United States shall ever be resisted by an armed force, then will soon succeed the collision which will settle the difficulty forever. The last vain hope of the dissolutionists is, that the people of the North and West cannot be induced to march in hostile array against their brethren in a state of rebellion. The "whisky-boys" of Pennsylvania thought so, too, when they arrayed themselves against the execution of the laws of the United States. They treated the President's proclamations with disdain, and defied the power of the Federal Government. But scarcely had the call for volunteers gone forth, when fifty thousand resolute men responded, in tones that reached beyond the mountains, and brought the arms of the rebels to the ground without a blow. And, in these our days, let but a proclamation go forth from the President's mansion that the Union is in danger, and calling for its friends to rise in its defence, and, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, a million of hearts of steel will stand before him in arms, and will preserve its integrity, or perish in the effort. All that is requisite for the maintenance of the integrity of the Union is a President of nerve sufficient to do his duty. Let the people, next year, look to that.

MARYLAND.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow citizens of the Senate
and House of Representatives:

Our deep and heart-felt gratitude is due to that Almighty Power which has bestowed upon us such varied and numerous blessings throughout the past year. The general health of the country has been excellent; our harvests have been unusually plentiful, and prosperity smiles throughout the land. Indeed, notwithstanding our demerits, we have much reason to believe, from the past events in our history, that we have enjoyed the special protection of Divine Providence ever since our origin as a nation. We have been exposed to many threatening and alarming difficulties in our progress; but on each successive occasion the impending cloud has been dissipated at the moment it appeared ready to burst upon our head, and the danger to our institutions has passed away. May we ever be under the divine guidance and protection!

Whilst it is the duty of the President "from time to time to give to Congress information of the state of the Union," I shall not refer in detail to the recent sad and bloody occurrences at Harper's Ferry. Still, it is proper to observe that these events, however bad and cruel in themselves, derive their chief importance from the apprehension that they are but symptoms of an incurable disease in the public mind, which may break out in still more dangerous outrages, and terminate at last in an open war by the North, to abolish Slavery in the South. Whilst, for myself, I entertain no such apprehension, they ought to afford a solemn warning to us all to beware of the approach of danger. Our Union is a stake of such inestimable value as to demand our constant and watchful vigilance for its preservation. In this view, let me implore my countrymen, North and South, to cultivate the ancient feelings of mutual forbearance and good-will towards each other, and strive to allay the demon spirit of sectional hatred and strife now alive in the land. This advice proceeds from the heart of an old public functionary, whose service commenced in the last generation, among the wise and conservative statesmen of that day, now nearly all passed away, and whose first and dearest earthly wish is to leave his country tranquil, prosperous, united, and powerful.

We ought to reflect that in this age, and especially in this country, there is an incessant flux and reflux of public opinion. Questions which in their day assumed a most threatening aspect, have now nearly gone from the memory of men. They are "volcanoes burnt out, and on the lava and ashes and squalid scoriæ of old eruptions grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine, and the sustaining corn." Such, in my opinion, will prove to be the fate of the present sectional excitement, should those who wisely seek to apply the remedy, continue always to confine their efforts within the pale of the Constitution. If this course be pursued, the existing agitation on the subject of domestic Slavery, like everything human, will have its day, and give place to other and less threatening controversies. Public opinion in this country is all-powerful, and when it reaches a dangerous excess upon any question, the good sense of the people will furnish the corrective, and bring it back within safe limits. Still, to hasten this auspicious result, at the present crisis, we ought to remember that every rational creature must be presumed to intend the natural consequences of his own teachings. Those who announce abstract doctrines subversive of the Constitution and the Union, must not be surprised should their heated partisans advance one step further, and attempt by violence to carry these doctrines into practical effect. In this view of the subject, it ought never to be forgotten that, however great may have been the political advantages resulting from the Union to every portion of our common country, these would all prove to be as nothing, should the time ever arrive when they cannot be enjoyed without serious danger to the personal safety of the people of fifteen members of the Confederacy. If the peace of the domestic fireside throughout these States should ever be invaded—if the mothers of families within this extensive region should not be able to retire to rest at night without suffering dreadful apprehensions of what may be their own fate and that of their children before the morning—it would be vain to recount to such a people the political benefits which result to them from the Union. Self-preservation is the first instinct of nature; and therefore any state of society in which the sword is all the time suspended over the heads of the people, must at last become intolerable. But I indulge in no such gloomy forebodings. On the contrary, I firmly believe that the events at Harper's Ferry, by causing the people to pause and reflect upon the possible peril to their cherished institutions, will be the means, under Providence, of allaying the existing excitement and preventing future outbreaks of a similar character. They will resolve that the Constitution and the Union shall not be endangered by rash counsels, knowing that, should "the silver cord be loosed or the golden bowl be broken * * at the fountain," human power could never reunite the scattered and hostile fragments.

I cordially congratulate you upon the final settlement by the Supreme Court of the United States of the question of Slavery in the Territories, which had presented an aspect so truly formidable at the commencement of my administration. The right has been established of every citizen to take his property of any kind, including slaves, into the common Territories belonging equally to all the States of the Confederacy, and to have it protected there under the Federal Constitution. Neither Congress, nor a Territorial Legislature, nor any human power, has any authority to annul or impair this vested right. The supreme judicial tribunal of the country, which is a co-ordinate branch of the Government, has sanctioned and affirmed these principles of constitutional law, so manifestly just in themselves, and so well calculated to promote peace and harmony among the States. It is a striking proof of the sense of justice which is inherent in our people, that the property in slaves has never been disturbed, to my knowledge, in any of the Territories. Even throughout the late troubles in Kansas, there has not been any attempt, as I am credibly informed, to interfere, in a single instance, with the right of the master. Had any such attempt been made, the judiciary would doubtless have afforded an adequate remedy. Should they fail to do this hereafter, it will then be time enough to strengthen their hands by further legislation. Had it been decided that either Congress or the Territorial Legislature possess the power to annul or impair the right to property in slaves, the evil would be intolerable. In the latter event, there would be a struggle for a majority of the members of the Legislature at each successive election, and the sacred rights of property held under the Federal Constitution would depend for the time being on the result. The agitation would thus be rendered incessant whilst the Territorial condition remained, and its baneful influence would keep alive a dangerous excitement among the people of the several States.

Thus has the status of a Territory, during the intermediate period from its first settlement until it shall become a State, been irrevocably fixed by the final decision of the Supreme Court. Fortunate has this been for the prosperity of the Territories, as well as the tranquillity of the States. Now, emigrants from the North and the South, the East and the West, will meet in the Territories on a common platform, having brought with them that species of property best adapted, in their own opinion, to promote their welfare. From natural causes the Slavery question will in each case soon virtually settle itself; and before the Territory is prepared for admission as a State into the Union, this decision, one way or the other, will have been a foregone conclusion. Meanwhile, the settlement of the new Territory will proceed without serious interruption, and its progress and prosperity will not be endangered or retarded by violent political struggles.

When in the progress of events the inhabitants of any Territory shall have reached the number required to form a State, they will then proceed, in a regular manner, and in the exercise of the rights of popular sovereignty, to form a Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union. After this has been done, to employ the language of the Kansas and Nebraska act, they "shall be received into the Union with or without Slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission." This sound principle has happily been recognised, in some form or other, by an almost unanimous vote of both houses of the last Congress.

All lawful means at my command have been employed, and shall continue to be employed, to execute the laws against the African slave trade. After a most careful and rigorous examination of our coasts, and a thorough investigation of the subject, we have not been able to discover that any slaves have been imported into the United States, except the cargo by the Wanderer, numbering between three and four hundred. Those engaged in this unlawful enterprise have been rigorously prosecuted, but not with as much success as their crimes have deserved. A number of them are still under prosecution.

Our history proves that the Fathers of the Republic, in advance of all other nations, condemned the African slave trade. It was, notwithstanding, deemed expedient by the framers of the Constitution to deprive Congress of the power to prohibit "the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit" "prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight."

It will be seen that this restriction on the power of Congress was confined to such States only as might think proper to admit the importation of slaves. It did not extend to other States or to the trade carried on abroad. Accordingly, we find that, so early as the 22d of March, 1794, Congress passed an act imposing severe penalties and punishments upon citizens and residents of the United States who should engage in this trade between foreign nations. The provisions of this act were extended and enforced by the act of 10th May, 1800.

Again: The States themselves had a clear right to waive the constitutional privilege intended for their benefit, and to prohibit, by their own laws, this trade at any time they thought proper previous to 1808. Several of them exercised this right before that period, and among them some containing the greatest number of slaves. This gave to Congress the immediate power to act in regard to all such States, because they themselves had removed the constitutional barrier. Congress accordingly, passed an act on the 28th February, 1803, "to prevent the importation of certain persons into certain States where, by the laws thereof, their admission is prohibited." In this manner the importation of African slaves into the United States was, to a great extent, prohibited some years in advance of 1808.

As the year 1808 approached, Congress determined not to suffer this trade to exist even for a single day after they had the power to abolish it. On the 2d of March, 1807, they passed an act to take effect "from and after the 1st day of January, 1808," prohibiting the importation of African slaves into the United States. This was followed by subsequent acts of a similar character, to which I need not specially refer. Such were the principles and such the practice of our ancestors more than fifty years ago in regard to the African slave trade.

It did not occur to the revered patriots who had been delegates to the Convention, and afterwards became members of Congress, that, in passing these laws, they had violated the Constitution which they had framed with so much care and deliberation. They supposed that, to prohibit Congress, in express terms, from exercising a specified power before an appointed day, necessarily involved the right to exercise this power after that day had arrived.

If this were not the case, the framers of the Constitution had expended much labor in vain. Had they imagined that Congress would possess no power to prohibit the trade either before or after 1808, they would not have taken so much care to protect the States against the exercise of this power before that period. Nay, more—they would not have attached such vast importance to this provision as to have excluded it from the possibility of future repeal or amendment, to which other portions of the Constitution were exposed. It would, then, have been wholly unnecessary to engraft on the fifth article of the Constitution, prescribing the mode of its own future amendment, the proviso, "that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect" the provision the Constitution securing to the States the right to admit the importation of African slaves previous to that period.

According to the adverse construction, the clause itself, on which so much care and discussion had been employed by the members of the Convention, was an absolute nullity from the beginning, and all that has since been done under it a mere usurpation.

It was well and wise to confer this power on Congress, because, had it been left to the States, its efficient exercise would have been impossible. In that event, any one State could have effectually continued the trade not only for itself, but for all the other slave States, though never so much against their will. And why? Because African slaves, when once brought within the limits of any one State, in accordance with its laws, cannot practically be excluded from any other State where Slavery exists. And even if all the States had separately passed laws prohibiting the importation of slaves, these laws would have failed of effect, for want of a naval force to capture the slavers and to guard the coasts. Such a force no State can employ in time of peace without the consent of Congress.

These acts of Congress, it is believed, have, with very rare and insignificant exceptions, accomplished their purpose. For a period of more than half a century, there has been no perceptible addition to the number of our domestic slaves. During this period their advancement in civilization has far surpassed that of any other portion of the African race. The light and the blessings of Christianity have been extended to them, and both their moral and physical condition has been greatly improved.

Reopen the trade, and it would be difficult to determine whether the effect would be more deleterious on the interests of the master or on those of the native-born slave. Of the evils to the master, the one most to be dreaded would be the introduction of wild, heathen, and ignorant barbarians, among the sober, orderly, and quiet slaves, whose ancestors have been on the soil for several generations. This might tend to barbarize, demoralize, and exasperate the whole mass, and produce most deplorable consequences.

The effect upon the existing slave would, if possible, be still more deplorable. At present he is treated with kindness and humanity. He is well fed, well clothed, and not overworked. His condition is incomparably better than that of the coolies which modern nations of high civilization have employed as a substitute for African slaves. Both the philanthropy and the self-interest of the master have combined to produce this humane result. But let this trade be reopened, and what will be the effect? The same, to a considerable extent, as on a neighboring island—the only spot now on earth where the African slave trade is openly tolerated; and this in defiance of solemn treaties with a Power abundantly able at any moment to enforce their execution. There the master, intent upon present gain, extorts from the slave as much labor as his physical powers are capable of enduring—knowing that, when death comes to his relief, his place can be supplied at a price reduced to the lowest point by the competition of rival African slave traders. Should this ever be the case in our country—which I do not deem possible—the present useful character of the domestic institution, wherein those too old and too young to work are provided for with care and humanity, and those capable of labor are not overtasked, would undergo an unfortunate change. The feeling of reciprocal dependence and attachment which now exists between master and slave would be converted into mutual distrust and hostility.

But we are obliged as a Christian and moral nation to consider what would be the effect upon unhappy Africa itself if we should reopen the slave trade. This would give the trade an impulse and extension which it has never had even in its palmiest days. The numerous victims required to supply it would convert the whole slave coast into a perfect Pandemonium, for which this country would be held responsible in the eyes both of God and man. Its petty tribes would then be constantly engaged in predatory wars against each other for the purpose of seizing slaves to supply the American market. All hopes of African civilization would thus be ended.

On the other hand, when a market for African slaves shall no longer be furnished in Cuba, and thus all the world be closed against this trade, we may then indulge a reasonable hope for the gradual improvement of Africa. The chief motive of war among the tribes will cease whenever there is no longer any demand for slaves. The resources of that fertile but miserable country might then be developed by the hand of industry, and afford subjects for legitimate foreign and domestic commerce. In this manner, Christianity and civilization may gradually penetrate the existing gloom.

The wisdom of the course pursued by this Government towards China has been vindicated by the event. Whilst we sustained a neutral position in the war waged by Great Britain and France against the Chinese Empire, our late Minister, in obedience to his instructions, judiciously co-operated with the Ministers of these Powers in all peaceful measures to secure by treaty the just concessions demanded by the interests of foreign commerce. The result is, that satisfactory treaties have been concluded with China by the respective Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Russia. Our "treaty, or general convention of peace, amity, and commerce," with that Empire, was concluded at Tientsin on the 18th June, 1858, and was ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the 21st December following:

On the 15th December, 1858, John E. Ward, a distinguished citizen of Georgia, was duly commissioned as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China. He left the United States for the place of his destination on the 5th of February, 1859, bearing with him the ratified copy of this treaty, and arrived at Shanghai on the 28th May. From thence he proceeded to Peking on the 16th June, but did not arrive in that city until the 27th July. According to the terms of the treaty, the ratifications were to be exchanged on or before the 18th June, 1859. This was rendered impossible by reasons and events beyond his control, not necessary to detail; but still it is due to the Chinese authorities at Shanghai to state that they always assured him no advantage should be taken of the delay; and this pledge has been faithfully redeemed.

On the arrival of Mr. Ward at Peking, he requested an audience of the Emperor, to present his letter of credence. This he did not obtain, in consequence of his very proper refusal to submit to the humiliating ceremonies required by the etiquette of this strange people in approaching their sovereign. Nevertheless, the interviews on this question were conducted in the most friendly spirit, and with all due regard to his personal feelings and the honor of his country. When a presentation to his Majesty was found to be impossible, the letter of credence from the President was received with peculiar honors by Kweiliang, "the Emperor's Prime Minister, and the second man in the Empire to the Emperor himself." The ratifications of the treaty were afterwards, on the 16th of August, exchanged in proper form at Pei-tsang. As the exchange did not take place until after the day prescribed by the treaty, it is deemed proper, before its publication, again to submit it to the Senate.

It is but simple justice to the Chinese authorities to observe, that, throughout the whole transaction, they appear to have acted in good faith and in a friendly spirit towards the United States. It is true, this has been done after their own peculiar fashion; but we ought to regard with a lenient eye the ancient customs of an empire dating back for thousands of years, so far as this may be consistent with our own national honor. The conduct of our Minister on the occasion has received my entire approbation.

In order to carry out the spirit of this treaty, and to give it full effect, it became necessary to conclude two supplemental conventions—the one for the adjustment and satisfaction of the claims of our citizens, and the other to fix the tariff on imports and exports, and to regulate the transit duties and trade of our merchants with China. This duty was satisfactorily performed by our late minister. These conventions bear date at Shanghai, on the 8th of November, 1858. Having been considered in the light of binding agreements subsidiary to the principal treaty, and to be carried into execution without delay, they do not provide for any formal ratification or exchange of ratifications by the contracting parties. This was not deemed necessary by the Chinese, who are already proceeding in good faith to satisfy the claims of our citizens, and, it is hoped, to carry out the other provisions of the conventions. Still I thought it was proper to submit them to the Senate, by which they were ratified on the 3d March, 1859. The ratified copies, however, did not reach Shanghai until after the departure of our minister to Pekin, and these conventions could not, therefore, be exchanged at the same time with the principal treaty. No doubt is entertained that they will be ratified and exchanged by the Chinese Government, should this be thought advisable; but, under the circumstances presented, I shall consider them binding engagements from their date on both parties, and cause them to be published as such for the information and guidance of our merchants trading with the Chinese empire.

It affords me much satisfaction to inform you that all our difficulties with the Republic of Paraguay have been satisfactorily adjusted. It happily did not become necessary to employ the force for this purpose which Congress had placed at my command, under their joint resolution of 2d June, 1858. On the contrary, the President of that Republic, in a friendly spirit, acceded promptly to the just and reasonable demands of the Government of the United States. Our commissioner arrived at Assumption, the capital of the Republic, on the 25th of January, 1859, and left it on the 17th of February, having in three weeks ably and successfully accomplished all the objects of his mission. The treaties which he has concluded will be immediately submitted to the Senate.

In the view that the employment of other than peaceful means might become necessary to obtain "just satisfaction" from Paraguay, a strong naval force was concentrated in the waters of the La Plata, to await contingencies, whilst our commissioner ascended the rivers to Assumption. The Navy Department is entitled to great credit for the promptness, efficiency, and economy, with which this expedition was fitted out and conducted. It consisted of nineteen armed vessels, great and small, carrying 200 guns and 2,500 men, all under the command of the veteran and gallant Shubrick. The entire expenses of the expedition have been defrayed out of the ordinary appropriations for the naval service, except the sum of $289,000, applied to the purchase of seven of the steamers constituting a part of it, under the authority of the naval appropriation act of the 3d March last. It is believed that these steamers are worth more than their cost, and they are all now usefully and actively employed in the naval service.

The appearance of so large a force, fitted out in such a prompt manner, in the far-distant waters of the La Plata, and the admirable conduct of the officers and men employed in it, have had a happy effect in favor of our country throughout all that remote portion of the world.

Our relations with the great empires of France and Russia, as well as with all other Governments on the continent of Europe, unless we may except that of Spain, happily continue to be of the most friendly character.

In my last annual message, I presented a statement of the unsatisfactory condition of our relations with Spain, and I regret to say that this has not materially improved. Without special reference to other claims, even the "Cuban claims," the payment of which has been ably urged by our ministers, and in which more than a hundred of our citizens are directly interested, remain unsatisfied, notwithstanding both their justice and their amount ($128,635.54) had been recognised and ascertained by the Spanish Government itself.

I again recommend that an appropriation be made, "to be paid to the Spanish Government, for the purpose of distribution among the claimants in the Amistad case." In common with two of my predecessors, I entertain no doubt that this is required by our treaty with Spain of the 27th October, 1795. The failure to discharge this obligation has been employed by the Cabinet of Madrid as a reason against the settlement of our claims.

I need not repeat the arguments which I urged in my last annual message in favor of the acquisition of Cuba by fair purchase. My opinions on that measure remain unchanged. I therefore again invite the serious attention of Congress to this important subject. Without a recognition of this policy on their part, it will be almost impossible to institute negotiations with any reasonable prospect of success.

Until a recent period, there was good reason to believe that I should be able to announce to you on the present occasion that our difficulties with Great Britain, arising out of the Clayton and Bulwer treaty, had been finally adjusted in a manner alike honorable and satisfactory to both parties. From causes, however, which the British Government had not anticipated, they have not yet completed treaty arrangements with the Republics of Honduras and Nicaragua, in pursuance of the understanding between the two Governments. It is, nevertheless, confidently expected that this good work will ere long be accomplished.

Whilst indulging the hope that no other subject remained which could disturb the good understanding between the two countries, the question arising out of the adverse claims of the parties to the island of San Juan, under the Oregon treaty of the 15th of June, 1846, suddenly assumed a threatening prominence. In order to prevent unfortunate collisions on that remote frontier, the late Secretary of State, on the 17th July, 1855, addressed a note to Mr. Crampton, then British Minister at Washington, communicating to him a copy of the instructions which he (Mr. Marcy) had given, on the 14th July, to Gov. Stevens, of Washington Territory, having a special reference to an "apprehended conflict between our citizens and the British subjects on the island of San Juan." To prevent this, the Governor was instructed "that the officers of the Territory should abstain from all acts on the disputed grounds which are calculated to provoke any conflicts, so far as it can be done without implying the concession to the authorities of Great Britain of an exclusive right over the premises. The title ought to be settled before either party should attempt to exclude the other by force, or exercise complete and sovereign rights within the fairly-disputed limits."

In acknowledging the receipt on the next day of Mr. Marcy's note, the British minister expressed his entire concurrence "in the propriety of the course recommended to the Governor of Washington Territory by your [Mr. Marcy's] instructions to that officer," and stating that he had "lost no time in transmitting a copy of that document to the Governor General of British North America," and had "earnestly recommended to his Excellency to take such measures as to him may appear best calculated to secure, on the part of the British local authorities and the inhabitants of the neighborhood of the line in question, the exercise of the same spirit of forbearance which is inculcated by you [Mr. Marcy] on the authorities and citizens of the United States."

Thus matters remained, upon the faith of this arrangement, until the 9th July last, when Gen. Harney paid a visit to the island. He found upon it twenty-five American residents, with their families, and also an establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company for the purpose of raising sheep. A short time before his arrival, one of these residents had shot an animal belonging to the Company, whilst trespassing upon his premises, for which, however, he offered to pay twice its value; but that was refused. Soon after, "the chief factor of the Company at Victoria, Mr. Dalles, son-in-law of Governor Douglas, came to the island in the British sloop of war, Satellite, and threatened to take this American (Mr. Cutler) by force to Victoria, to answer for the trespass he had committed. The American seized his rifle and told Mr. Dalles if any such attempt was made he would kill him on the spot. The affair then ended."

Under these circumstances, the American settlers presented a petition to the General, "through the United States inspector of customs, Mr. Hubbs, to place a force upon the island to protect them from the Indians as well as the oppressive interference of the authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria, with their rights as American citizens." The General immediately responded to this petition, and ordered Captain George E. Pickett, 9th infantry, "to establish his company on Bellevue, or San Juan Island, on some suitable position near the harbor at the southeastern extremity." This order was promptly obeyed, and a military post was established at the place designated. The force was afterwards increased, so that by the last return the whole number of troops then on the island amounted, in the aggregate, to 691 men.

Whilst I do not deem it proper on the present occasion to go further into the subject, and discuss the weight which ought to be attached to the statements of the British colonial authorities, contesting the accuracy of the information on which the gallant General acted, it was due to him that I should thus present his own reasons for issuing the order to Captain Pickett. From these, it is quite clear, his object was to prevent the British authorities on Vancouver's island from exercising jurisdiction over American residents on the island of San Juan, as well as to protect them against the incursions of the Indians.

Much excitement prevailed for some time throughout that region, and serious danger of collision between the parties was apprehended. The British had a large naval force in the vicinity; and it is but an act of simple justice to the admiral on that station to state that he wisely and discreetly forbore to commit any hostile act, but determined to refer the whole affair to his Government, and await their instructions.

This aspect of the matter, in my opinion, demanded serious attention. It would have been a great calamity for both nations, had they been precipitated into acts of hostility, not on the question of title to the island, but merely concerning what should be its condition during the intervening period whilst the two Governments might be employed in settling the question to which of them it belongs. For this reason, Lieutenant General Scott was despatched on the 17th September last to Washington Territory, to take immediate command of the United States forces on the Pacific coast, should he deem this necessary. The main object of his mission was to carry out the spirit of the precautionary arrangement between the late Secretary of State and the British minister, and thus to preserve the peace and prevent collision between the British and American authorities pending the negotiations between the two Governments. Entertaining no doubt of the validity of our title, I need scarcely add that, in any event, American citizens were to be placed on a footing at least as favorable as that of British subjects, it being understood that Captain Pickett's company should remain on the island. It is proper to observe that, considering the distance from the scene of action, and in ignorance of what might have transpired on the spot before the General's arrival, it was necessary to leave much to his discretion, and I am happy to state the event has proven that this discretion could not have been intrusted to more competent hands. General Scott has recently returned from his mission, having successfully accomplished its objects, and there is no longer any good reason to apprehend a collision between the forces of the two countries during the pendency of the existing negotiations.

I regret to inform you that there has been no improvement in the affairs of Mexico since my last annual message, and I am again obliged to ask the earnest attention of Congress to the unhappy condition of that Republic.

The constituent Congress of Mexico, which adjourned on the 17th of February, 1857, adopted a Constitution and provided for a popular election. This took place in the following July, [1857,] and General Comonfort was chosen President, almost without opposition. At the same election a new Congress was chosen, whose first session commenced on the 16th of September, [1857.] By the Constitution of 1857 the Presidential term was to begin on the 1st of December, [1857,] and continue for four years. On that day General Comonfort appeared before the assembled Congress in the city of Mexico, took the oath to support the new Constitution, and was duly inaugurated as President. Within a month afterwards he had been driven from the capital, and a military rebellion had assigned the supreme power of the Republic to General Zuloaga. The Constitution provided that in the absence of the President his office should devolve upon the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and, General Comonfort having left the country, this functionary, General Juarez, proceeded to form, at Guanajuato, a constitutional Government. Before this was officially known, however, at the capital, the Government of Zuloaga had been recognised by the entire diplomatic corps, including the minister of the United States, as the *de facto* Government of Mexico. The constitutional President, nevertheless, maintained his position with firmness, and was soon established with his Cabinet at Vera Cruz. Meanwhile, the Government of Zuloaga was earnestly resisted in many parts of the Republic, and even in the capital, a portion of the army having pronounced against it, its functions were declared terminated, and an assembly of citizens was invited for the choice of a new President. This assembly elected General Miramon, but that officer repudiated the plan under which he was chosen, and Zuloaga was thus restored to his previous position. He assumed it, however, only to withdraw from it, and Miramon, having become, by his appointment, "President Substitute," continues, with that title, at the head of the insurgent party.

In my last annual message I communicated to Congress the circumstances under which the late minister of the United States suspended his official relations with the Central Government, and withdrew from the country. It was impossible to maintain friendly intercourse with a Government like that at the capital, under whose usurped authority wrongs were constantly committed, but never redressed. Had this been an established Government, with its power extending, by the consent of the people, over the whole of Mexico, a resort to hostilities against it would have been quite justifiable, and indeed necessary. But the country was a prey to civil war; and it was hoped that the success of the constitutional President might lead to a condition of things less injurious to the United States. This success became so probable that, in January last, I employed a reliable agent to visit Mexico, and report to me the actual condition and prospects of the contending parties. In consequence of his report, and from information which reached me from other sources, favorable to the prospects of the constitutional cause, I felt justified in appointing a new minister to Mexico, who might embrace the earliest suitable opportunity of restoring our diplomatic relations with that Republic. For this purpose a distinguished citizen of Maryland was selected, who proceeded on his mission on the 8th of March last, with discretionary authority to recognise the Government of President Juarez, if on his arrival in Mexico, he should find it entitled to such recognition, according to the established practice of the United States. On the 7th of April following, Mr. McLane presented his credentials to President Juarez, having no hesitation "in pronouncing the Government of Juarez to be the only existing Government of the Republic." He was cordially received by the authorities at Vera Cruz, and they have ever since manifested the most friendly disposition towards the United States. Unhappily, however, the constitutional Government has not been able to establish its power over the whole Republic. It is supported by a large majority of the people and the States, but there are important parts of the country where it can enforce no obedience. General Miramon maintains himself at the capital; and in some of the distant provinces there are military governors who pay little respect to the decrees of either Government. In the mean time, the excesses which always attend upon civil war, especially in Mexico, are constantly recurring. Outrages of the worst description are committed, both upon persons and property. There is scarcely any form of injury which has not been suffered by our citizens in Mexico during the last few years. We have been nominally at peace with that Republic, but, "so far as the interests of our commerce or of our citizens who have visited the country as merchants, shipmasters, or in other capacities, are concerned, we might as well have been at war." Life has been insecure, property unprotected, and trade impossible, except at a risk of loss which prudent men cannot be expected to incur. Important contracts, involving large expenditures, entered into by the Central Government, have been set at defiance by the local Governments. Peaceful American residents, occupying their rightful possessions, have been suddenly expelled from the country, in defiance of treaties, and by the mere force of arbitrary power.

Even the course of justice has not been safe from control, and a recent decree of Miramon permits the intervention of Government in all suits where either party is a foreigner. Vessels of the United States have been seized without law, and a consular officer, who protested against such seizure, has been fined and imprisoned for disrespect to the authorities. Military contributions have been levied, in violation of every principle of right, and the American who resisted the lawless demand has had his property forcibly taken away, and has been himself banished. From a conflict of authority in different parts of the country, tariff duties which have been paid in one place have been exacted over again in another place. Large numbers of our citizens have been arrested and imprisoned without any form of examination or any opportunity for a hearing, and, even when released, have only obtained their liberty after much suffering and injury, and without any hope of redress. The wholesale massacre of Crabbe and his associates, without trial, in Sonora, as well as the seizure and murder of four sick Americans who had taken shelter in the house of an American, upon the soil of the United States, was communicated to Congress at its last session. Murders of a still more atrocious character have been committed in the very heart of Mexico, under the authority of Miramon's Government, during the present year. Some of these were only worthy of a barbarous age, and, if they had not been clearly proven, would have seemed impossible in a country which claims to be civilized. Of this description was the brutal massacre in April last, by order of Gen. Marquez, of three American physicians, who were seized in the hospital at Tacubaya while attending upon the sick and the dying of both parties, and, without trial, as without crime, were hurried away to speedy execution. Little less shocking was the recent fate of Ormond Chase, who was shot in Tepic on the 7th of August, by order of the same Mexican general, not only without a trial, but without any conjecture by his friends of the cause of his arrest. He is represented as a young man of good character and intelligence, who had made numerous friends in Tepic by the courage and humanity which he had displayed on several trying occasions, and his death was as unexpected as it was shocking to the whole community. Other outrages might be enumerated, but these are sufficient to illustrate the wretched state of the country, and the unprotected condition of the persons and property of our citizens in Mexico.

In all these cases, our ministers have been constant and faithful in their demands for redress, but both they and this Government, which they have successively represented, have been wholly powerless to make their demands effective. Their testimony in this respect, and in reference to the only remedy which, in their judgments, would meet the exigency, has been both uniform and emphatic. "Nothing but a manifestation of the power of the Government of the United States, (wrote our late minister in 1856,) and of its purpose to punish these wrongs, will avail. I assure you that the universal belief here is, that there is nothing to be apprehended from the Government of the United States, and that local Mexican officials can commit these outrages upon American citizens with absolute impunity."

"I hope the President" (wrote our present Minister in August last) "will feel authorized to ask from Congress the power to enter Mexico with the military forces of the United States, at the call of the constitutional authorities, in order to protect the citizens and the treaty rights of the United States. Unless such a power is conferred upon him, neither the one nor the other will be respected in the existing state of anarchy and disorder, and the outrages already perpetrated will never be chastised; and, as I assured you in my No. 23, all these evils must increase, until every vestige of order and government disappears from the country." I have been reluctantly led to the same opinion, and, in justice to my countrymen who have suffered wrongs from Mexico, and who may still suffer them, I feel bound to announce this conclusion to Congress.

The case presented, however, is not merely a case of individual claims, although our just claims against Mexico have reached a very large amount. Nor is it merely the case of protection to the lives and property of the few Americans who may still remain in Mexico, although the life and property of every American citizen ought to be sacredly protected in every quarter of the world. But it is a question which relates to the future as well as to the present and the past, and which involves, indirectly at least, the whole subject of our duty to Mexico as a neighboring State. The exercise of the power of the United States in that country to redress the wrongs and protect the rights of our own citizens is none the less to be desired, because efficient and necessary aid may thus be rendered at the same time to restore peace and order to Mexico itself. In the accomplishment of this result, the people of the United States must necessarily feel a deep and earnest interest. Mexico ought to be a rich, and prosperous, and powerful Republic. She possesses an extensive territory, a fertile soil, and an incalculable store of mineral wealth. She occupies an important position between the Gulf and the ocean for transit routes and for commerce. Is it possible that such a country as this can be given up to anarchy and ruin, without an effort from any quarter for its rescue and its safety? Will the commercial nations of the world, which have so many interests connected with it, remain wholly indifferent to such a result? Can the United States, especially, which ought to share most largely in its commercial intercourse, allow their immediate neighbor thus to destroy itself and injure them? Yet, without support from some quarter, it is impossible to perceive how Mexico can resume her position among nations, and enter upon a career which promises any good results. The aid which she requires, and which the interests of all commercial countries require that she should have, it belongs to this Government to render, not only by virtue of our neighborhood to Mexico, along whose territory we have a continuous frontier of nearly a thousand miles, but by virtue, also, of our established policy, which is inconsistent with the intervention of any European Power in the domestic concerns of that Republic.

The wrongs which we have suffered from Mexico are before the world, and must deeply impress every American citizen. A Government which is either unable or unwilling to redress such wrongs is derelict to its highest duties. The difficulty consists in selecting and enforcing the remedy. We may in vain apply to the Constitutional Government at Vera Cruz, although it is well disposed to do us justice, for adequate redress. Whilst its authority is acknowledged in all the important ports and throughout the sea coasts of the Republic, its power does not extend to the city of Mexico and the States in its vicinity, where nearly all the recent outrages have been committed on American citizens. We must penetrate into the interior before we can reach the offenders, and this can only be done by passing through the territory in the occupation of the Constitutional Government. The most acceptable and least difficult mode of accomplishing the object will be to act in concert with that Government. Their consent and their aid might, I believe, be obtained; but if not, our obligation to protect our own citizens in their just rights, secured by treaty, would not be the less imperative. For these reasons, I recommend to Congress to pass a law authorizing the President, under such conditions as they may deem expedient, to employ a sufficient military force to enter Mexico for the purpose of obtaining indemnity for the past and security for the future. I purposely refrain from any suggestion as to whether this force shall consist of regular troops or volunteers, or both. This question may be most appropriately left to the decision of Congress. I would merely observe that, should volunteers be selected, such a force could be easily raised in this country among those who sympathize with the sufferings of our unfortunate fellow-citizens in Mexico, and with the unhappy condition of that Republic. Such an accession to the forces of the Constitutional Government would enable it soon to reach the city of Mexico, and extend its power over the whole Republic. In that event, there is no reason to doubt that the just claims of our citizens would be satisfied, and adequate redress obtained for the injuries inflicted upon them. The Constitutional Government have ever evinced a strong desire to do us justice, and this might be secured in advance by a preliminary treaty.

It may be said that these measures will, at least indirectly, be inconsistent with our wise and settled policy not to interfere in the domestic concerns of foreign nations. But does not the present case fairly constitute an exception? An adjoining Republic is in a state of anarchy and confusion, from which she has proved wholly unable to extricate herself. She is entirely destitute of the power to maintain peace upon her borders, or to prevent the incursions of banditti into our territory. In her fate and in her fortune—in her power to establish and maintain a settled Government—we have a far deeper interest, socially, commercially, and politically, than any other nation. She is now a wreck upon the ocean, drifting about as she is impelled by different factions. As a good neighbor, shall we not extend to her a helping hand to save her? If we do not, it would not be surprising should some other nation undertake the task, and thus force us to interfere at last, under circumstances of increased difficulty, for the maintenance of our established policy.

I repeat the recommendation contained in my last annual message, that authority may be given to the President to establish one or more temporary military posts across the Mexican line in Sonora and Chihuahua, where these may be necessary to protect the lives and property of American and Mexican citizens against the incursions and depredations of the Indians, as well as of lawless rovers on that remote region. The establishment of one such post at a point called Arispe, in Sonora, in a country now almost depopulated by the hostile inroads of the Indians from our side of the line, would, it is believed, have prevented much injury and many cruelties during the past season. A state of lawlessness and violence prevails on that distant frontier. Life and property are there wholly insecure. The population of Arizona, now numbering more than ten thousand souls, are practically destitute of government, of laws, or of any regular administration of justice. Murder, rapine, and other crimes, are committed with impunity. I therefore again call the attention of Congress to the necessity for establishing a Territorial Government over Arizona.

The treaty with Nicaragua, of the 16th February, 1857, to which I referred in my last annual message, failed to receive the ratification of the Government of that Republic, for reasons which I need not enumerate. A similar treaty has been since concluded between the parties, bearing date on the 16th March, 1859, which has already been ratified by the Nicaraguan Congress. This will be immediately submitted to the Senate, for their ratification. Its provisions cannot, I think, fail to be acceptable to the people of both countries.

Our claims against the Governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua remain unredressed, though they are pressed in an earnest manner, and not without hope of success.

I deem it to be my duty once more earnestly to recommend to Congress the passage of a law authorizing the President to employ the naval force at his command for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens passing in transit across the Panama, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec routes, against sudden and lawless outbreaks and depredations. I shall not repeat the arguments employed in former messages in support of this measure. Suffice it to say that the lives of many of our people, and the security of vast amounts of treasure passing and repassing over one or more of these routes between the Atlantic and Pacific, may be deeply involved in the action of Congress on this subject.

I would also again recommend to Congress that authority be given to the President to employ the naval force to protect American merchant vessels, their crews and cargoes, against violent and lawless seizure and confiscation in the ports of Mexico and the Spanish-American States, when these countries may be in a disturbed and revolutionary condition. The mere knowledge that such an authority had been conferred, as I have already stated, would, of itself, in a great degree, prevent the evil. Neither would this require any additional appropriation for the naval service.

The chief objection urged against the grant of this authority is, that Congress, by conferring it, would violate the Constitution—that it would be a transfer of the war-making, or, strictly speaking, the war-declaring power, to the Executive. If this were well founded, it would, of course, be conclusive. A very brief examination, however, will place this objection at rest.

Congress possess the sole and exclusive power, under the Constitution, "to declare war." They alone can "raise and support armies," and "provide and maintain a navy." But after Congress shall have declared war, and provided the force necessary to carry it on, the President, as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, can alone employ this force in making war against the enemy. This is the plain language, and history proves that it was the well-known intention of the framers of the Constitution.

It will not be denied that the general "power to declare war" is without limitation, and embraces within itself not only what writers on the law of nations term a public or perfect war, but also an imperfect war—and, in short, every species of hostility, however confined or limited. Without the authority of Congress, the President cannot fire a hostile gun in any case, except to repel the attacks of an enemy. It will not be doubted that under this power Congress could, if they thought proper, authorize the President to employ the force at his command to seize a vessel belonging to an American citizen which had been illegally and unjustly captured in a foreign port, and restore it to its owner. But can Congress only act after the fact—after the mischief has been done? Have they no power to confer upon the President the authority, in advance, to furnish instant redress, should such a case afterwards occur? Must they wait until the mischief has been done, and can they apply the remedy only when it is too late? To confer this authority to meet future cases under circumstances strictly specified, is as clearly within the war-declaring power as such an authority conferred upon the President by act of Congress after the deed had been done. In the progress of a great nation, many exigencies must arise imperatively requiring that Congress should authorize the President to act promptly on certain conditions, which may or may not afterwards arise. Our history has already presented a number of cases. I shall refer only to the latest.

Under the resolution of June 2d, 1858, "for the adjustment of difficulties with the Republic of Paraguay," the President is "authorized to adopt such measures and use such force as, in his judgment, may be necessary and advisable in the event of a refusal of just satisfaction by the Government of Paraguay." "Just satisfaction" for what? For "the attack on the United States steamer Water Witch," and "other matters referred to in the annual message of the President." Here the power is expressly granted, upon the condition that the Government of Paraguay shall refuse to render this "just satisfaction." In this and other similar cases, Congress have conferred upon the President power in advance to employ the army and navy upon the happening of contingent future events; and this most certainly is embraced within the power to declare war.

Now, if this conditional and contingent power could be constitutionally conferred upon the President in the case of Paraguay, why may it not be conferred for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens in the event that they may be violently and unlawfully attacked in passing over the transit routes to and from California, or assailed by the seizure of their vessels in a foreign port? To deny this power is to render the navy in a great degree useless for the protection of the lives and property of American citizens in countries where neither protection nor redress can be otherwise obtained.

The Thirty-fifth Congress terminated on the 3d of March, 1859, without having passed the "act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department during the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1860." This act also contained an appropriation "to supply deficiencies in the revenue of the Post Office Department for the year ending the 30th of June, 1859." I believe this is the first instance since the origin of the Federal Government, now more than seventy years ago, when any Congress went out of existence without having passed all the general appropriation bills necessary to carry on the Government until the regular period for the meeting of a new Congress. This event imposed on the Executive a grave responsibility. It presented a choice of evils.

Had this omission of duty occurred at the first session of the last Congress the remedy would have been plain. I might then have instantly recalled them to complete their work—and this without expense to the Government. But on the 4th of March last there were fifteen of the thirty-three States which had not elected any Representatives to the present Congress. Had Congress been called together immediately, these States would have been virtually disfranchised. If an intermediate period had been selected, several of the States would have been compelled to hold extra sessions of their Legislatures, at great inconvenience and expense, to provide for elections at an earlier day than that previously fixed by law. In the regular course, ten of these States would not elect until after the beginning of August, and five of these ten not until October and November.

On the other hand, when I came to examine carefully the condition of the Post Office Department, I did not meet as many or as great difficulties as I had apprehended. Had the bill which failed been confined to appropriations for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June next, there would have been no reason of pressing importance for the call of an extra session. Nothing would become due on contracts (those with railroad companies only excepted) for carrying the mail for the first quarter of the present fiscal year, commencing on the 1st of July, until the 1st of December—less than one week before the meeting of the present Congress. The reason is, that the mail contractors for this the current year did not complete their first quarter's service until the 30th September last; and, by the terms of their contracts, sixty days more are allowed for the settlement of their accounts before the Department could be called upon for payment.

The great difficulty and the great hardship consisted in the failure to provide for the payment of the deficiency in the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1859. The Department had entered into contracts, in obedience to existing laws, for the service of that fiscal year, and the contractors were fairly entitled to their compensation as it became due. The deficiency, as stated in the bill amounted to $3,838,728, but, after a careful settlement of all these accounts, it has been ascertained that it amounts to $4,296,009. With the scanty means at his command, the Postmaster General has managed to pay that portion of this deficiency which occurred in the first two quarters of the past fiscal year, ending on the 31st December last. In the mean time the contractors themselves, under these trying circumstances, have behaved in a manner worthy of all commendation. They had one resource in the midst of their embarrassments. After the amount due to each of them had been ascertained and finally settled according to law, this became a specific debt of record against the United States, which enabled them to borrow money on this unquestionable security. Still they were obliged to pay interest in consequence of the default of Congress, and on every principle of justice ought to receive interest from the Government. This interest should commence from the date when a warrant would have issued for the payment of the principal, had an appropriation been made for this purpose. Calculated up to 1st December, it will not exceed $96,000—a sum not to be taken into account when contrasted with the great difficulties and embarrassments of a public and private character, both to the people and the States, which would have resulted from convening and holding a special session of Congress.

For these reasons, I recommend the passage of a bill, at as early a day as may be practicable, to provide for the payment of the amount, with interest, due to these last-mentioned contractors, as well as to make the necessary appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the current fiscal year.

The failure to pass the Post Office bill necessarily gives birth to serious reflections. Congress, by refusing to pass the general appropriation bills necessary to carry on the Government, may not only arrest its action, but might even destroy its existence. The army, the navy, the judiciary, in short, every department of the Government, can no longer perform their functions, if Congress refuse the money necessary for their support. If this failure should teach the country the necessity of electing a full Congress in sufficient time to enable the President to convene them in any emergency, even immediately after the old Congress has expired, it will have been productive of great good. In a time of sudden and alarming danger, foreign or domestic, which all nations must expect to encounter in their progress, the very salvation of our institutions may be staked upon the assembling of Congress without delay. If, under such circumstances, the President should find himself in the condition in which he was placed at the close of the last Congress, with nearly half the States of the Union destitute of Representatives, the consequences might be disastrous. I therefore recommend to Congress to carry into effect the provisions of the Constitution on this subject, and to pass a law appointing some day previous to the 4th of March in each year of odd number for the election of Representatives throughout all the States. They have already appointed a day for the election of electors for President and Vice President, and this measure has been approved by the country.

I would again express a most decided opinion in favor of the construction of a Pacific railroad, for the reasons stated in my two last annual messages. When I reflect upon what would be the defenceless condition of our States and Territories west of the Rocky mountains in case of a war with a naval Power sufficiently strong to interrupt all intercourse with them by the routes across the Isthmus, I am still more convinced than ever of the vast importance of this railroad. I have never doubted the constitutional competency of Congress to provide for its construction, but this exclusively under the war-making power. Besides, the Constitution expressly requires, as an imperative duty, that "the United States shall protect each of them [the States] against invasion." I am at a loss to conceive how this protection can be afforded to California and Oregon against such a naval Power by any other means. I repeat the opinion contained in my last annual message, that it would be inexpedient for the Government to undertake this great work by agents of its own appointment, and under its direct and exclusive control. This would increase the patronage of the Executive to a dangerous extent, and would foster a system of jobbing and corruption which no vigilance on the part of Federal officials could prevent. The construction of this road ought therefore to be intrusted to incorporated companies, or other agencies, who would exercise that active and vigilant supervision over it which can be inspired alone by a sense of corporate and individual interest. I venture to assert that the additional cost of transporting troops, munitions of war, and necessary supplies for the army, across the vast intervening plains, to our possessions on the Pacific coast, would be greater in such a war than the whole amount required to construct the road. And yet this resort would, after all, be inadequate for their defence and protection.

We have yet scarcely recovered from the habits of extravagant expenditure, produced by our overflowing treasury, during several years prior to the commencement of my Administration. The financial reverses which we have since experienced ought to teach us all to scrutinize our expenditures with the greatest vigilance, and to reduce them to the lowest possible point. The Executive Departments of the Government have devoted themselves to the accomplishment of this object with considerable success, as will appear from their different reports and estimates. To these, I invite the scrutiny of Congress, for the purpose of reducing them still lower, if this be practicable, consistent with the great public interests of the country. In aid of the policy of retrenchment, I pledge myself to examine closely the bills appropriating lands or money, so that if any of these should inadvertently pass both houses, as must sometimes be the case, I may afford them an opportunity for reconsideration. At the same time we ought never to forget that true public economy consists, not in withholding the means necessary to accomplish important national objects confided to us by the Constitution, but in taking care that the money appropriated for these purposes shall be faithfully and frugally expended.

It will appear, from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, that it is extremely doubtful, to say the least, whether we shall be able to pass through the present and the next fiscal year without providing additional revenue. This can only be accomplished by strictly confining the appropriations within the estimates of the different Departments, without making an allowance for any additional expenditures which Congress may think proper, in their discretion, to authorize, and without providing for the redemption of any portion of the $20,000,000 of treasury notes which have been already issued.

In the event of a deficiency, which I consider probable, this ought never to be supplied by a resort to additional loans. It would be a ruinous practice in the days of peace and prosperity to go on increasing the national debt to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government. This policy would cripple our resources and impair our credit in case the existence of war should render it necessary to borrow money. Should such a deficiency occur as I apprehend, I would recommend that the necessary revenue be raised by an increase of our present duties on imports. I need not repeat the opinions expressed in my last annual message, as to the best mode and manner of accomplishing this object, and shall now merely observe that these have since undergone no change.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury will explain in detail the operations of that Department of the Government.

The receipts into the treasury from all sources during the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1859, including the loan authorized by the act of 14th June, 1858, and the issues of treasury notes authorized by existing laws, were eighty-one million six hundred and ninety-two thousand four hundred and seventy-one dollars and one cent, ($81,692,471.01,) which sum, with the balance of six million three hundred and ninety-eight thousand three hundred and sixteen dollars and ten cents, ($6,398,316.10,) remaining in the treasury at the commencement of that fiscal year, made an aggregate for the service of the year of eighty-eight million ninety thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven dollars and eleven cents ($88,090,787.11.)

The public expenditures during the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1859, amounted to eighty-three million seven hundred and fifty-one thousand five hundred and eleven dollars and fifty-seven cents, ($83,751,511.57.) Of this sum, seventeen million four hundred and five thousand two hundred and eighty-five dollars and forty-four cents ($17,405,285.44) were applied to the payment of interest on the public debt and the redemption of the issues of treasury notes. The expenditures for all other branches of the public service during that fiscal year were, therefore, sixty-six million three hundred and forty six thousand two hundred and twenty-six dollars and thirteen cents, ($66,346,226.13.)

The balance remaining in the treasury on the 1st July, 1859, being the commencement of the present fiscal year, was four million three hundred and thirty-nine thousand two hundred and seventy-five dollars and fifty-four cents, ($4,339,275.54.)

The receipts into the treasury during the first quarter of the present fiscal year, commencing July 1st, 1859, were twenty million six hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and sixty-five dollars and eighty-five cents, ($20,618,865.85.) Of this amount, three million eight hundred and twenty-one thousand three hundred dollars ($3,821,300) was received on account of the loan and the issue of treasury notes—the amount of sixteen million seven hundred and ninety-seven thousand five hundred and sixty-five dollars and eighty-five cents ($16,797,565.85) having been received

during the quarter from the ordinary sources of public revenue.

The estimated receipts for the remaining three quarters of the present fiscal year to 30th June, 1860, are fifty million four hundred and twenty-six thousand four hundred dollars, ($50,426,400.) Of this amount, it is estimated that five million seven hundred and fifty-six thousand four hundred dollars ($5,756,400) will be received for treasury notes which may be reissued under the fifth section of the act of 3d March last, and one million one hundred and seventy thousand dollars ($1,170,000) on account of the loan authorized by the act of June 14, 1858—making six million nine hundred and twenty-six thousand four hundred dollars ($6,926,400) from these extraordinary sources, and forty-three million five hundred thousand dollars ($43,500,000) from the ordinary sources of the public revenue—making an aggregate, with the balance in the treasury on the 1st July, 1859, of seventy-five million three hundred and eighty-four thousand five hundred and forty-one dollars and eighty-nine cents ($75,384,541.89) for the estimated means of the present fiscal year ending 30th June, 1860.

The expenditures during the first quarter of the present fiscal year were twenty million seven thousand one hundred and seventy-four dollars and seventy-six cents, ($20,007,174.76.) Four million six hundred and sixty-four thousand three hundred and sixty-six dollars and seventy-six cents ($4,664,366.76) of this sum were applied to the payment of interest on the public debt and the redemption of the issues of treasury notes, and the remainder, being fifteen million three hundred and forty-two thousand eight hundred and eight dollars, ($15,352,808,) were applied to ordinary expenditures during the quarter.

The estimated expenditures during the remaining three quarters, to June 30, 1860, are forty million nine hundred and ninety-five thousand five hundred and fifty-eight dollars and twenty-three cents, ($40,995,558.23.) Of which sum, two million eight hundred and eighty-six thousand six hundred and twenty-one dollars and thirty-four cents ($2,886,621.34) are estimated for the interest of the public debt. The ascertained and estimated expenditures for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1860, on account of the public debt, are, accordingly, seven million five hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight dollars and ten cents, ($7,550,988.10;) and for the ordinary expenditures of the Government, fifty-three million four hundred and fifty-one thousand seven hundred and forty-four dollars and eighty-nine cents, ($53,451,744.89,) making an aggregate of sixty-one million two thousand seven hundred and thirty-two dollars and ninety-nine cents, ($61,002,732.99;) leaving an estimated balance in the treasury on the 30th June, 1860, of fourteen million three hundred and eighty-one thousand eight hundred and eight dollars and forty cents, ($14,381,808.40.)

The estimated receipts during the next fiscal year ending 30th June, 1861, are sixty-six million two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, ($66,225,000,) which, with the balance estimated, as before stated, as remaining in the treasury on the 30th June, 1860, will make an aggregate for the service of the next fiscal year of eighty million six hundred and six thousand eight hundred and eight dollars and forty cents, ($80,606,808.40.)

The estimated expenditures during the next fiscal year ending 30th June, 1861, are sixty-six million seven hundred and fourteen thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight dollars and seventy-nine cents, ($66,714,928.79.) Of this amount, three million three hundred and eighty-six thousand six hundred and twenty-one dollars and thirty-four cents ($3,386,621.34) will be required to pay the interest on the public debt; leaving the sum of sixty-three million three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and seven dollars and forty-five cents ($63,328,307.45) for the estimated ordinary expenditures during the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1861. Upon these estimates, a balance will be left in the treasury on the 30th June, 1861, of thirteen million eight hundred and ninety-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine dollars and sixty-one cents ($13,891,879.61.)

But this balance, as well as that estimated to remain in the treasury on the 1st July, 1860, will be reduced by such appropriations as shall be made by law to carry into effect certain Indian treaties during the present fiscal year, asked for by the Secretary of the Interior, to the amount of five hundred and thirty-nine thousand three hundred and fifty dollars, ($539,350,) and upon the estimates of the Postmaster General for the service of his Department the last fiscal year, ending 30th June, 1859, amounting to four million two hundred and ninety-six thousand and nine dollars, ($4,296,009,) together with the further estimate of that officer for the service of the present fiscal year, ending 30th June, 1860, being five million five hundred and twenty-six thousand three hundred and twenty-four dollars, ($5,526,324,) making an aggregate of ten million three hundred and sixty-one thousand six hundred and eighty-three dollars, ($10,361,683.)

Should these appropriations be made as requested by the proper Departments, the balance in the treasury on the 30th June, 1861, will not, it is estimated, exceed three million five hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and ninety-six dollars and sixty-one cents, ($3,530,196.61.)

I transmit herewith the reports of the Secretaries of War, of the Navy, of the Interior, and of the Postmaster General. They each contain valuable information and important recommendations well worthy of the serious consideration of Congress.

It will appear from the report of the Secretary of War that the army expenditures have been materially reduced by a system of rigid economy, which, in his opinion, offers every guaranty that the reduction will be permanent. The estimates of the Department for the next have been reduced nearly two millions of dollars below the estimates for the present fiscal year, half a million of dollars below the amount granted for this year at the last session of Congress.

The expenditures of the Post Office Department during the past fiscal year, ending on the 30th June, 1859, exclusive of payments for mail service specially provided for by Congress out of the general treasury, amounted to $14,964,493.33, and its receipts to $7,968,484.07; showing a deficiency to be supplied from the treasury of $6,996,009.26, against $5,235,677.15 for the year ending 30th June, 1858. The increased cost of transportation, growing out of the expansion of the service required by Congress explains this rapid augmentation of the expenditures. It is gratifying, however, to observe an increase of receipts for the year ending on the 30th June, 1859, equal to $481,691.21, compared with those in the year ending on 30th June, 1858.

It is estimated that the deficiency for the current fiscal year will be $5,988,424.04, but that, for the year ending 30th June, 1861, it will not exceed $1,342,473.90, should Congress adopt the measures of reform proposed and urged by the Postmaster General. Since the month of March, retrenchments have been made in the expenditures, amounting to $1,826,471 annually, which, however, did not take effect until after the commencement of the present fiscal year.

The period seems to have arrived for determining the question whether this Department shall become a permanent and ever-increasing charge upon the Treasury, or shall be permitted to resume the self-sustaining policy which had so long controlled its administration. The course of legislation recommended by the Postmaster General for the relief of the Department from its present embarrassments, and for restoring it to its original independence, is deserving of your early and earnest consideration.

In conclusion, I would again commend to the just liberality of Congress the local interests of the District of Columbia. Surely the city bearing the name of Washington, and destined, I trust, for ages to be the capital of our united, free, and prosperous Confederacy, has strong claims on our favorable regard.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, *Dec.* 19, 1859.

THE ABOLITION MEETINGS AT PHILADELPHIA.—Mayor Henry, of Philadelphia, having been catechised by Messrs. Ingersoll, H. C. Carey, Morton McMichael, and others, concerning his motives in repressing the recent riotous demonstrations in that city, comes out with a long answer, wherein he declares that he merely extended to certain public meetings that official protection which his oath of office required; and while he expresses the most unbounded love of the Union and the Constitution, he respectfully intimates that on future occasions he shall perform his duty. He adds:

"Freedom of speech is the inseparable concomitant of liberty of conscience, and the Government that cannot secure to its citizens the full enjoyment of these and other inherent rights, fails to answer the end for which it has been established.

"Guided by the Constitution and laws of the State, a clear sense of my duty as Mayor of Philadelphia, and a determination to discharge that duty without fear or favor of public opinion, prompted me to the official acts in question."

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1859.

THE MESSAGE.—We give place to the President's message, to the exclusion of editorial and other matter which had been prepared for this paper. It is mild and dispassionate in tone, but concedes everything which the most ultra Southern sectionalists demand, except the revival of the slave trade. The President denies to the people of a Territory and to Congress the right to exclude Slavery therefrom. He renews his recommendations of last year in regard to the acquisition of Cuba, the protectorate over Mexico, and over the transit routes; and urges the importance of a Pacific railroad, which will please the West better than the South. On the whole, the message may be regarded as a rather cunning bid for the Presidential nomination.

CALL OF THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.—One of the wisest and best things of the day is the call issued by the Republican National Committee for a Convention of the party, which will be found in another column. It displays a large and national spirit, which commends it to all men who are honestly opposed to the extension of Slavery, and who deem it a matter of first importance to wrest the Federal Government out of the corrupt hands which now wield it in the interest of a particular class. So far as we can ascertain, the call finds universal acceptance with this class of men; and if the same wisdom and firm adherence to the just, peaceful, and constitutional, landmarks of the party shall continue to guide, there can be no rational doubt of an overwhelming triumph next November.

SECTIONALISM—A CONTRAST.

If anybody has a doubt as to which is the sectional party in this country, we refer him to the list of the Senate committees, which will be found in the Congressional proceedings of December 21. Every important or even respectable committee has a Southern man at its head, while the Northern Democratic Senators are *insulted*, if they are capable of feeling insult, by being placed at the head of committees of no sort of importance. General Lane, a prominent Presidential aspirant, and a thorough-paced Pro-Slavery man, can be intrusted with nothing higher than the chairmanship of the Committee on Engrossed Bills! Mr. Bright, another prominent Democrat, with an eye to the White House, receives, as a mark of Southern confidence, the chairmanship of the Committee on Public Buildings in Washington; or, in other words, in recompense for his long and faithful services to Slavery, he is appointed to superintend the sewers and gutters which drain the Capitol and its grounds! Messrs. Douglas and Pugh are treated as enemies, or Republicans.

Now, mark the contrast. When Mr. Banks was elected Speaker of the House, he treated his Southern opponents with far greater respect and confidence than the Northern "Democratic" members of the Senate have received at the hands of their friends. We have not now the list of Mr. Banks's committees, but we remember that several of them were presided over by Southern men, and among them the Military Committee, of which Gen. Quitman was made chairman.

These public facts speak louder than words, and demonstrate the intense sectionalism of the Black Democracy.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN TENNESSEE.—Among the interesting matters which the message compels us to postpone, we will barely allude to a remarkable speech in the Tennessee Legislature by the Hon. William Ewing. Though representing a large slaveholding constituency in the heart of Middle Tennessee, he boldly denounced the cruelty of the proposed expulsion or sale of the free colored people, and avowed his adherence to Mr. Jefferson's views of emancipation and colonization of the colored race.

CALL OF A REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The National Republican Committee met at the Astor House, New York city, on Thursday last, and issued the following call for a National Convention of the party:

A National Republican Convention will meet at Chicago on Wednesday, the 13th day of June next, at twelve o'clock, noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice President at the next election.

The Republican electors of the several States, the members of the People's party of Pennsylvania, and of the Opposition party of New Jersey, and all others who are willing to co-operate with them in support of the candidates which shall there be nominated, and who are opposed to the policy of the present Administration; to Federal corruption and usurpation; to the extension of Slavery into the Territories; to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the Constitution, of its own force, carries Slavery into all the Territories of the United States; to the opening of the African slave trade; to any inequality of rights among citizens—and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, under the Constitution recently adopted by its people; of restoring the Federal Administration to a system of rigid economy, and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; of maintaining inviolate the rights of the States, and defending the soil of every State and Territory from lawless invasion; and of preserving the integrity of this Union and the supremacy of the Constitution, and laws passed in pursuance thereof, against the conspiracy of the leaders of a sectional party to resist the majority principle as established in this Government, even at the expense of its existence—are invited to send from each State two delegates from every Congressional district, and four delegates at large, to the Convention.

Edwin D. Morgan, New York, *President.*
Joseph Bartlett, Maine.
George G. Fogg, New Hampshire.
Lawrence Brainerd, Vermont.
John Z. Goodrich, Massachusetts.
Gideon Welles, Connecticut.
Thomas Williams, Pennsylvania.
George Harris, Maryland.
Alfred Caldwell, Virginia.
Thomas Spooner, Ohio.
Cassius M. Clay, Kentucky.
James Ritchey, Indiana.
Norman B. Judd, Illinois.
Zachariah Chandler, Michigan.
John H. Tweedy, Wisconsin.
Alexander H. Ramsey, Minnesota.
Andrew J. Stevens, Iowa.
Asa S. Jones, Missouri.
Martin F. Conway, Kansas.
Lewis Clephane, District of Columbia.
William M. Chace, Rhode Island.
James N. Sherman, New Jersey.

THE IOWA SENATORSHIP.—There has been a general expression by the Republican press of this State, in favor of the re-election of Hon. James Harlan to the U. S. Senate. It seems, in fact, that there is no division of opinion on this question. Mr. Harlan's talents, integrity, industry, and efficiency, eminently entitle him to the further confidence and honor of the people of Iowa. It is the policy of older and more experienced States, to retain their ablest men in position, such as Mr. Harlan now holds. The people of Iowa may well feel proud of such men as Messrs. Harlan and Grimes in the U. S. Senate, and will subserve the public good by keeping them there.—*Muscatine Journal.*

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, First Session.

Wednesday, December 21, 1859.

SENATE.

Mr. Iverson gave notice of his intention to introduce bills amending the act establishing the Court of Claims, and changing and regulating the mode of appointing cadets at the West Point Military Academy.

A message was received from the President of the United States transmitting Executive communications; whereupon the Senate went into Executive session.

The doors being again opened, Mr. Bright submitted a resolution for the appointment of standing committees—yeas 31, nays 19. A strict party vote, except that of Mr. Pugh, who voted nay.

The following are the committees:

On Foreign Relations—Messrs. Mason, Douglas, Slidell, Polk, Crittenden, Seward, and Sumner.

On Finance—Messrs. Hunter, Pearce, Gwin, Bright, Hammond, Fessenden, and Cameron.

On Commerce—Messrs. Clay, Bigler, Toombs, Clingman, Saulsbury, Hamlin, and Chandler.

On Military Affairs—Messrs. Davis, Fitzpatrick, Johnson of Arkansas, Chestnut, Lane, Wilson, and King.

On Naval Affairs—Messrs. Mallory, Thomson, Slidell, Hammond, Nicholson, Hale, and Anthony.

On Judiciary—Messrs. Bayard, Pugh, Benjamin, Green, Powell, Trumbull, and Foster.

On Post Offices—Messrs. Yulee, Gwin, Rice, Bright, Wigfall, Hale, and Dixon.

On Public Lands—Messrs. Johnson of Arkansas, Johnson of Tennessee, Lane, Pugh, Bragg, Harlan, and Bingham.

On Private Land Claims—Messrs. Benjamin, Polk, Wigfall, Grimes, and Ten Eyck.

On Indian Affairs—Messrs. Sebastian, Fitch, Rice, Haun, Hemphill, Doolittle, and Clark.

On Pensions—Messrs. Thomson, Clay, Saulsbury, Powell, Durkee, Harlan, and Grimes.

On Revolutionary Claims—Messrs. Toombs, Crittenden, Nicholson, Durkee, and Ten Eyck.

On Claims—Messrs. Iverson, Mallory, Bragg, Simmons, and Foote.

On District of Columbia—Messrs. Brown, Mason, Johnson of Tennessee, Yulee, Kennedy, Hamlin, and Wilson.

On Patents—Messrs. Bigler, Thomson, Hemphill, Simmons, and Trumbull.

On Public Buildings—Messrs. Bright, Davis, Kennedy, Clark, and Doolittle.

On Territories—Messrs. Green, Douglas, Sebastian, Fitzpatrick, Haun, Collamer, and Wade.

To Audit Contingent Expenses of the Senate—Messrs. Johnson of Tenn., Powell, and Dixon.

On Printing—Messrs. Fitch, Davis, and Anthony.

On Engrossed Bills—Messrs. Lane, Bigler, and Harlan.

On Enrolled Bills—Messrs. Haun, Saulsbury, and Bingham.

On the Library—Messrs. Pearce, Bayard, and Collamer.

Adjourned.

HOUSE.

The Clerk said the pending question was upon the motion to amend the record of Friday, the 9th instant.

Mr. Davidson, of Louisiana, addressed the House on the issues between the North and the South. He never believed in the doctrine of secession, and did not believe in it now; but when the people are aggrieved, and their rights trampled upon without redress, there was no other remedy.

Mr. Cobb, of Alabama, said, that after a service of thirteen years in the House, he was humiliated to find that he had to associate with those who endorsed Helper's book. His (Mr. Cobb's) constituents had heard all about Brown's raid, and yet they prayed for the perpetuity of the Union. He had been a compromise man, but was now done with compromises. He referred to the South Americans, and asked them whether they would not help to elect a Speaker.

Mr. Etheridge replied, that when the Democrats could show that they could concentrate their forces on any one Democrat, then it would be time to consider the proposition. In further reply, he said that he would vote for a Democratic Speaker only in a certain contingency.

Mr. Cobb wanted to know why all the Southern Opposition yesterday did not vote for Mr. Boteler, when twenty Democrats voted for him.

Mr. Etheridge replied, that all the Southern Opposition would vote for him at the proper time. It would only be in the last resort, however, that he should ever vote for a man for Speaker who was instrumental in forcing upon an unwilling people the most consummate despotism ever attempted on a free people.

Mr. Cobb having concluded his remarks,

Mr. Boteler, after thanking his friends for the kindness expressed toward him, withdrew his name as a candidate for Speaker, and before he took his seat he nominated General Millson, of Virginia, for Speaker.

There were loud and enthusiastic cries for a vote, and everybody seemed anxious that the House should again attempt the election of a Speaker.

Mr. Clark, of New York, arose, and made a speech on the subject of organization. He defined his position at some length, and gave his definition of what it was to be a Democrat. He had differed from the Administration on its Territorial policy, and in that design and reflection he found himself voting with those from whom he politically differed. He spoke of the efforts of Federal and municipal office-holders to break him down, and said that he was here in defiance of the Democratic organization. He owed no allegiance to any man, and was as free as the flag that waves over the Capitol.

Mr. Clark gave his reasons why he could vote for neither Mr. Bocock nor Mr. Millson. It was because of their support of the Administration's Territorial policy. He announced his determination to continue voting as he has voted—for an Anti-Lecompton Democrat.

The House then proceeded to vote. Whole number of votes cast, 226; necessary to a choice, 114. Mr. Sherman received 106, Mr. Millson 96, Mr. Gilmer 6, Mr. Etheridge 7, Mr. Davis of Indiana, 4; scattering, 7.

On this ballot, Messrs. Millward, Morris, and Wood, of Pennsylvania, and Wilson of Indiana, cast their votes for Mr. Etheridge, thereby reducing Mr. Sherman's vote.

Mr. Hill, of Georgia, said there was evidently no chance of organizing the House by proceeding to ballot again, and he should move that the House adjourn.

Mr. Winslow, of North Carolina, thought it would be a good plan to confer with their constituents, and, after one more ballot, had proposed to offer this resolution:

Resolved, That, from and after to-day, (to-morrow,) no further vote for Speaker shall be taken until the 15th day of January next.

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, said, the Southern Opposition, numbering only twenty-three votes, though claiming to be National men, required the Democrats to go over to them. Why would not the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Etheridge] vote to-day for Mr. Millson, whom he proposed by resolution four years ago to make Speaker? Had his character changed personally or politically in that time? He paused for a reply.

Mr. Etheridge would give the reply. Four years ago, when he nominated Mr. Millson, not a single Democrat would vote for him.

Mr. Winslow, of North Carolina, said that it was because Mr. Millson positively declined.

Mr. Etheridge said he withdrew his name only at the earnest request of friends around him. He nominated him then because he had resisted the Kansas-Nebraska bill, but times had since changed, and political conduct had changed. The gentleman from Virginia was not the same man politically now, for he had sought to do that which was the beginning of the scenes now being enacted; that which had lighted the torch which nearly set the world on fire; that which, as a Southern man, he thanked God that he had been unable to do; he had sought to force upon an unwilling people by Executive force a Constitution which they abhorred. He might be compelled to vote for a Democrat, but never for one who had sanctioned the attempt to force Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution. [Applause.]

Mr. Burnett understood very well that the united Southern vote would not have elected Mr. Millson, but the spectacle would have been one of great moral power, which would have made the endorsers of Helper's book tremble.

Mr. Etheridge did not want to see a united South, because that would defeat the very object in view. A sectional appeal on one side would be met by a similar appeal on the other. As an American citizen, he ignored all geographical lines, and would never stand on that floor a sectional man. He would say to the North and to the South, just so far shalt thou go, and no further. [Applause.] He was sent here from a Democratic district, and was responsible only to his constituents. It was out of place to arraign his motives until the gentleman could get his own party into line.

Mr. Burnett hoped the gentleman would not take offence, if he said God save the mark, if a Democratic district sent him here. He believed the gentleman never intended to vote for a Democrat. Kentucky was conservative and Union-loving, for Henry Clay slept beneath her soil, [applause,] and her Representatives had generally been true in their allegiance. He would like to know why his friend from the fourth district [Mr. Anderson] could make no sacrifice for the good of his country.

Mr. Anderson, of Kentucky, said he had not voted for an endorser of Helper's book, but had voted consistently for an American, and intended to continue to do so to the end. He represented the fourth district.

Mr. Burnett. For the present.

Mr. Anderson said it was true his seat was contested, but that was got up by the Democrats, to affect the next election. He was born and raised a Whig, but he would not, like his friend, shed crocodile tears over the grave of Henry Clay. He would not vote for Mr. Millson, because he was a Democrat, nor for Mr. Sherman, because he was a Republican. He was opposed to both of those corrupt parties. [Applause and laughter.] He did not know Gen. Millson, but he would give, as another reason for voting against him, that he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. [Laughter.]

Mr. Burnett. Are you through?

Mr. Anderson. If you are satisfied, I am. [Laughter.]

Mr. Burnett was satisfied. The gentleman could not vote for Mr. Millson, who opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill, but he could vote for Mr. Etheridge. He inquired if his colleague had not pledged himself to vote for a Democrat, if the choice lay between him and a Republican?

Mr. Anderson replied that he had. He was only giving his reasons for voting against Mr. Millson. In an issue between a Republican and a Democrat, he would vote for the latter, but he hoped to God the issue would never come.

Mr. Hill, of Georgia, insisted that he was entitled to the floor. He had not yielded it for the gentleman to denounce his party as that miserable Know-Nothing party. He had voted for Mr. Millson because that gentleman opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and because he knew him to be incapable of making this House a whitewashing company for the Administration or anything else. He was in favor of protecting Slavery in Southern Territories, and would never consent to dissolve the Union on account of any miscreant being constitutionally elected President, until there had been some overt act committed against the rights of the South. He was a constitutional Union man.

Mr. Burnett said if, in the heat of debate, he had applied the epithet "miserable" to the American party, he would with pleasure retract the offensive word.

Mr. Hill said he came to Congress with the hope of being instrumental, in an humble degree, in breaking up the two great organizations, Democratic and Republican, and erecting on their ruins a better party for this Union. [Applause.]

Mr. Anderson, of Kentucky, desired briefly to reply to his colleague. He wanted a speedy organization of this House. He denied that he was pledged to his constituents to vote for a Democratic President in 1860 in the event of the election being thrown into the House. But in the election of a Speaker he was bound to prefer a Democrat to a Republican.

At twenty minutes past five o'clock the House adjourned.

Thursday, December 22, 1859.

SENATE.

Prayer by the Chaplain.

A message of an Executive character was received from the President of the United States, by his private secretary, James Buchanan, jun.

A communication was received from the Superintendent of the Capitol extension, relating to the heating of the public buildings.

A large number of petitions and memorials were here presented.

Mr. Mallory introduced an act amending the patent laws. Referred.

Mr. Gwin introduced a Pacific railroad bill.

Mr. Lane introduced a bill making an appropriation to pay Oregon and Washington Territories the expense of Indian hostilities. Referred.

Mr. Slidell offered a resolution, that when the Senate adjourn to-morrow, it be until Tuesday next; on which day it meet and adjourn until the next Friday, and from that day to the next Tuesday.

After some debate, it was agreed to.

Mr. Bright introduced a bill to enlarge the public grounds surrounding the Capitol. Referred.

A number of other bills were introduced and referred.

And, on motion, the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

A desultory debate occurred between Messrs. Burnett, Anderson, Harris of Maryland, Moore of Kentucky, and others, as to the responsibility for failing to organize, in the course of which Mr. Burnett expressed his belief that if the Democrats had voted for Mr. Gilmer when he got 36 votes, the Republicans who voted for him would have changed their votes.

Mr. Campbell, of Pennsylvania, said he voted for the gentlemen from North Carolina on his record as a national conservative man, and would not have changed his vote under any circumstances.

Messrs. Hale and Wood of Pennsylvania, Nixon of New Jersey, and others of the Republicans who voted for Mr. Gilmer, declared that they did so in good faith, and were ready to do it again if he could be elected.

Mr. Harris, of Maryland, said he was authorized to say that if the Democrats would vote for Mr. Gilmer, they could have as many more from that side as might be necessary to elect him.

After some further remarks from divers members, the House proceeded to ballot, with the following result:

Mr. Sherman	95
Mr. Millson	79
Mr. Gilmer	36
Scattering	13

On this ballot, Messrs. Campbell, Covode, Hale, Junkin, Morris, Schwartz, and Scranton, of Pennsylvania; Nixon, Pennington, and Stratton, of New Jersey; and Haskin, of New York, who have heretofore voted for Mr. Sherman, cast their votes for Mr. Gilmer.

Mr. Keitt said there were but two parties in the House—the Republicans, numbering one hundred and fifteen, and the Opposition to that party, composed of about ninety-three Democrats, twenty-three Southern Opposition or Americans, and six or seven Anti-Lecompton Democrats, making in all about one hundred and twenty who were opposed to the Republicans. He made an earnest appeal to the one hundred and twenty men to unite in the election of a Speaker.

He would lay before the smaller wing of the Opposition a proposition in good faith—that either they thirty gentlemen should select whom they pleased from the Democratic side, or let the Democrats select whom they pleased from them, and then unite and elect him. If they would not do that, he would believe, so help him God, that a Republican was nearer to them than one of their own blood, their own country, their own interest, who carries in his hand the Constitution of the country.

The House then proceeded to another ballot for Speaker, with the following result:

Mr. Sherman	108
Mr. Millson	69
Mr. Gilmer	21
Scattering	24
Necessary to a choice	112

Mr. Winslow offered the following:

Resolved, That from and after to-day there shall be no vote as to the organization of the House until the second Monday in January, 1860.

Several members objected to the resolution as not being in order.

Mr. Grow objected, on the ground that nothing is in order but a ballot for Speaker and a motion to adjourn, and cited an act of Congress and precedents in support of his position. He spoke briefly and eloquently in opposition to the resolution. His remarks will be found in full in another column.

A contest arose between Messrs. Farnsworth, of Illinois, and Smith, of Virginia, as to the right to the floor, which was finally decided in favor of the former, but he gave way to a motion to adjourn, which was carried.

Friday, December 23, 1859.

SENATE.

Sundry petitions were presented and referred.

Mr. Yulee, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, submitted reports, accompanied by bills for the relief of John Scott, William W. House, and Samuel D. House, and also for the relief of Arnold Harris and Samuel F. Butterworth.

On motion by Mr. Gwin,

Resolved, That the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads be instructed to inquire into the expediency of establishing a post route from Yreka, Shasta, and Mussoloy, in the State of California, to Genoa, in the Territory of Utah.

On motion by Mr. Gwin,

Resolved, That the Committee on Pensions be instructed to inquire into the expediency of extending the benefits up to the present time of the act approved March 3, 1855, granting bounty land to certain officers and soldiers who have been engaged in the military service of the United States.

Sundry bills were introduced, and referred to appropriate committees.

The Senate then went into Executive session, and, after some time spent therein, adjourned to Tuesday next.

HOUSE.

The House met at twelve o'clock. A prayer was offered and the journal read.

The Clerk stated the question to be on receiving the proposition of the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. Winslow,] in relation to postponing the election of Speaker, and that, upon that question, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Farnsworth] had the floor.

Mr Farnsworth then proceeded to address the House at great length and with much force, but the crowded state of our columns constrains us to omit them from our brief sketch of the proceedings. His speech will be published in pamphlet form.

Mr. Nelson, of Tennessee, replied to certain articles in the Washington *States*, reflecting upon his course as a Southern man in the contest for Speaker. He alluded to the fact that his speech in support of the Union had been approved by the press in all sections of the country, and that he had received letters of congratulation from all quarters, as evidence of the undying love of the American Union in the American heart, and that the madness that seeks to sever the ties of the Union will be signally rebuked.

In regard to the statements relating to him in the *States*, he pronounced them wilfully and maliciously false, and grossly and unjustifiably libellous. It was true, he had been in favor of uniting upon a Democrat for Speaker, and would still be ready to do so when he should see a disposition to treat his party fairly. He believed that the election of a Southern man would do more than anything else to quiet the apprehensions of the country, but would never vote for any but a Union man. He had confidence in the declarations of Mr. Sherman, that he signed the Helper book inadvertently, and did not approve of its extreme doctrines, but thought his election would exert an unhappy influence at the South, and should continue to vote for a Southern Opposition man until he saw good cause to change his course.

The House then proceeded to ballot the twentieth time, for Speaker, with the following result:

Mr. Sherman	108
Mr. Millson	27
Mr. Gilmer	19
Scattering	63
Necessary to a choice	112

At half past four o'clock, the House adjourned.

Saturday, December 24, 1859.

The Senate not in session.

HOUSE.

Mr. Bonham gave notice that after the speech of Mr. Smith, of Virginia, who was entitled to the floor, he would endeavor to obtain an opportunity to move that the House proceed to ballot for Speaker faithfully throughout the day. Failing in that, he would make an effort to offer a resolution that from and after to-day no vote for Speaker shall be taken before the hour of 12 o'clock, meridian, on Wednesday, the 9th of January; and that when the House adjourn to-day, it be till Wednesday.

Mr. Fouke, Mr. Smith giving way, replied to the remarks of Mr. Farnsworth, who had commented on the course of Mr. Douglas. His colleague [Mr. Farnsworth] had declared in substance that he would rather see any other man than Mr. Douglas elected to the Presidency. The Republican hatred of Mr. Douglas was deep-seated, and well it may be, for he has given them many heavy blows. Mr. Douglas stands on the Cincinnati platform, and desires nothing else than its adoption by the Charleston Convention.

He (Mr. Fouke) would support the nominee of that Convention in good faith, and so will the Democrats of Illinois. They have buried the differences of the past, and consider that every one who abides by the Democratic organization is a Democrat.

Mr. Farnsworth. Will Mr. Douglas support the nominee of the Charleston Convention on a platform on which he will not stand himself? Will he sustain a platform which does not recognise his [Mr. Douglas's] doctrine, that the people in the Territories have the right to legislate in reference to Slavery?

Mr. Fouke said he would tell the North and South that Mr. Douglas will support the nominee of the Charleston Convention.

Mr. Farnsworth. On any platform?

Mr. Fouke said he would give his support against the Republicans, and he proceeded to show that the State Convention of Illinois declared they would sustain the nominee of the Charleston Convention.

The discussion was continued for some time between Messrs. Fouke, Farnsworth, and Morris, of Illinois.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, then proceeded to address the House. He referred to the exciting circumstances under which the House had assembled, and the attempt made by the largest party in this House, who stood before the country as having proclaimed no fellowship with slaveholders, and war to the death against Slavery, to elect as Speaker one who had endorsed the Helper book. In speaking of the character of that book and its endorsers, he asked if the Republicans thought it would be right if they should propose to put a man who is a murderer, a robber, and a thief, and who proclaims his deadly hostility to any of their institutions, into that chair.

Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, desired to know if the gentleman from Virginia applied those words to him.

Mr. Smith said he was only illustrating his argument. He had no such thought, and did not intend to say that the gentleman from Ohio was a murderer.

Mr. Sherman had misunderstood the gentleman.

Mr. Smith restated his position, and applied his denunciation to the Republicans as a party. They had a right to say that the gentleman's party had been guilty of these things.

Mr. Curtis, of Iowa. I call the gentleman to order. He impeaches the honor of every man on this side of the House, and I ask the gentleman to recall it.

Mr. Smith. When I have anything to recall, I will do it, sir, without being asked, [applause;] and if the gentleman will keep cool, he will perhaps fare the better by it. He was charging nobody on that floor with being murderers and robbers, but he did charge that when they came here, finding that many members of the Republican party had endorsed Helper's book, they had a right to believe that those endorsers, unless they disclaimed it, were just as bad and just as damnable. [Applause.]

[The Clerk here gave notice that order must be preserved in the galleries, and called on the Sergeant-at-arms and Doorkeepers to perform their duty.

Mr. Smith said he was proceeding to illustrate his position strikingly, and had been using strong figures of speech, for the purpose of making it so plain that there could be no escape, and to vindicate the Democratic side of the House from the charge of unnecessarily delaying the organization. He asked the gentleman from Iowa if he would have voted for Mr. Sherman if he had really endorsed the Helper book.

Mr. Curtis said the gentleman knew he would not, and that his candidate would not sanction any assaults upon the rights of Virginia or any other State. When the gentleman asked whether he or his party would put a perjurer or a villain into the Speaker's chair, the very question was horrible. He could not suppose that the gentleman ever seriously believed that the Republican members were so insensible to justice and honor as to dare to bring into that hall and sustain any one who would propose or endorse any argument in favor of an outrage and crime like that of John Brown's raid. He did not blame them for raising the inquiry, to which he had responded, as had the Republican nominee, by a full denial, but he thought those gentlemen ought now themselves to vindicate them from the imputation.

Mr. Smith insisted that Mr. Sherman had not denied the charge, and he wondered at the course of the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. Nelson,] who had said Mr. Sherman had denied it.

Mr. Nelson, of Tennessee, said he certainly understood Mr. Sherman as saying that he did not remember signing the recommendation of the book, and disapproved of its ultra doctrines.

Mr. Smith read from the *Globe* report the language used by Mr. Sherman, to the effect that he did not recollect signing the paper referred to; that he had not read the Helper book, or seen a copy of it; that his party desired to organize the House quietly and peaceably; that he would not trespass on a single right of a single Southern State; and that he was opposed to any interference whatever by the people of the free States with the relations of master and slave in the slave States. That was all that he said, and he insisted did not amount to a disclaimer. He asked that gentleman now, Does he disclaim the doctrines of the Helper book? Every one knew that there were different ways of operating. Helper had said that if his advice were followed, in fifteen years there would not be a slave in America. Would the gentleman disclaim those doctrines? The gentleman was dumb as an oyster, [laughter,] and the gentleman from Tennessee wanted to speak for him.

Mr. Nelson, of Tennessee, said he did not desire to misrepresent the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Sherman] nor anybody else. He was not, of course, that gentleman's organ, nor in any way his confident, but, in justice to himself, he thought it proper to say to the House that, as he understood the doctrines of the Helper book, as published in the newspapers, when the gentleman from Ohio distinctly disavowed any desire or intention of interfering with Slavery in the slave States, he considered that that was repudiating the doctrines of the Helper book.

Mr. Morris, of Pennsylvania, said he was a supporter of Mr. Sherman, knowing that he was free of all fair charge or implication in anything of a treasonable character, and because he knew him to be eminently conservative. He caused to be read an extract from a speech of Mr. Sherman in 1856, in the debate on the President's message, in which Mr. S. condemned the Northern Abolitionists and fanatics, and repudiated the idea of interfering in any manner with Slavery in the States, though he regarded the repeal of the Missouri compromise as an infamous wrong. He (Mr. Morris) knew that Mr. Sherman still entertained these sentiments, and therefore supported him.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, denied the right of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Sherman] to speak by deputy, in this imperious manner. He was not Speaker yet. They had come to a pretty pass, when a gentleman put in nomination was not allowed to speak.

Mr. Smith then proceeded to reply to the remarks of Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, made on Thursday last, and charged that gentleman with the defeat of the Post Office appropriation bill at the last session.

Mr. Branch, of North Carolina, (Mr. Smith yielding the floor for that purpose,) made some remarks on the subject of the defeat of said bill, designed to fix the responsibility for its defeat upon Mr. Grow.

Mr. Grow asked a few minutes to reply to the gentleman from North Carolina, but Mr. Smith refused to yield the floor for that purpose.

After considerable desultory debate in relation to taking a ballot for Speaker, adjourning over the holidays, &c., the House proceeded to the twenty-first ballot for Speaker, with the following result:

Sherman	100
Bocock	20
Gilmer	17
Houston	17
Davis, of Ind.	11
Scattering	38

At 4½ o'clock, the House adjourned.

Monday, December 26, 1859.

The Senate was not in session.

In the House, Mr. Smith, of Virginia, continued his speech, commenced on Saturday. Opinions vary as to when he will conclude it.

Tuesday, December 27, 1859.

SENATE.

A message was received from the President of the United States, by the hands of his private secretary.

Mr. Iverson moved that it be taken up and read.

Mr. Collamer objected, on the ground that the Senate was now very thin, and when they were last together, there was a distinct understanding that no business should be done during Christmas week.

The question being taken by yeas and nays, the reading of the message was ordered—yeas 28, nays 12.

It was then read by the Secretary, occupying an hour and a half. Its reading being concluded,

Mr. Bright saw no reason why the usual course should not be followed, and moved that the message and accompanying documents be printed for the use of the Senate. He would not ask the immediate consideration of that motion. It could be entered on the journal, and lie over; for no printer has as yet been elected.

That course was pursued, and then the Senate adjourned until Friday next.

HOUSE.

The President's annual message was received as soon as the House met.

Mr. John Cochrane moved that it be laid on the table until the House was organized.

Mr. Craige, of North Carolina, moved to amend the motion, so that the message be received and read.

Mr. Cochrane accepted the amendment, amid much excitement.

The Republican side called for the yeas and nays.

A call of the House was then ordered.

Mr. Stanton argued that there was no precedent for reading the message when not organized.

Mr. Craige then withdrew his amendment, and Mr. Cochrane's original motion was agreed to.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, resumed his remarks from yesterday.

Mr. Houston asked leave to offer a resolution—in effect, proposing to name a temporary Speaker, for ten days—in the mean time to read the President's message, to sign such bill as may be passed for the relief of the Post Office Department, &c.

The Republicans objected to this, and the House was then called, preliminary to voting.

The House again voted for Speaker. Whole number of votes, 208—necessary to a choice, 105. Mr. Sherman received 101, Mr. Scott 17, Mr. Houston 15, Mr. Gilmer 14, Mr. Bocock 14, Mr. Maclay 12, scattering 35.

The House then adjourned.

PRAYERS FOR SEWARD.—The Auburn (N. Y.) *Union*, of Monday, says: "Prayers for the preservation of Governor Seward amid the dangers of the sea, and for his safe arrival home, were offered on Sunday in all the churches of the city."

THE SOUTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE.—Both branches have passed the resolution appropriating $100,000 for military contingencies, and also a resolution declaring, as the deliberate opinion of South Carolina, that the safety and honor of the slaveholding States imperatively demand a speedy separation from the free-soil States of the Confederacy, and earnestly inviting and urging her sister States of the South to originate the movement of Southern separation, in which she pledges herself promptly to unite.

ARRIVAL OF THE SOUTHERN STUDENTS AT RICHMOND.—*Richmond, Dec.* 22.—The medical students from Philadelphia arrived here this afternoon, and were received by the faculty and students of the Medical College, the Governor, and the Richmond Guards. There were also an immense throng of citizens. The procession marched to the Governor's mansion, where the students were addressed by Governor Wise. Subsequently they were addressed by Professor Gibson at the college, after which they dined at the Columbia Hotel. Great enthusiasm was manifested, and there were continual shouts of applause and waving of handkerchiefs along the route.

AN ENVOY FROM SOUTH CAROLINA TO VIRGINIA.—*Washington, Dec.* 25.—The Charleston *Courier*, of Friday, says there are good reasons for believing that Hon. C. G. Meminger will be clothed with the honorable and important office of representing South Carolina as the special commissioner to the State of Virginia, according to the provision made by the Legislature that has just closed its labors.

THREE DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

The European Congress—Victor Hugo on Brown's Virginia Invasion.

New York, Dec. 22.—The steamer Asia, with Liverpool advices of the 10th, arrived here this forenoon.

The steamer New York, from New York, had arrived at Southampton.

General Intelligence.—It was rumored at London that the Chinese had ordered the Russians to evacuate the Amoor settlements, and had sealed up the Embassy at Pekin in their palace.

Additional adhesions to the European Congress had been received at Paris.

Speculations were rife relative to the plenipotentiaries to represent the several States, and the probable proceedings of the body.

The English reformers were holding conferences in preparation for their approaching campaign.

The directors of the Great Eastern Steamship Company had postponed their explanation of the embarrassments to the shareholders for one month, and there was much dissatisfaction among the shareholders.

The whole amount of gold recovered from the wreck of the steamer Royal Charter reaches $180,000.

Victor Hugo has published an eloquent appeal in behalf of Captain Brown's Harper's Ferry affair. He says the execution of Brown will be a crime of the greatest magnitude.

The Bank of France has gained 6,000,000 francs in cash during the past month.

The pacific policy of France towards England was making progress.

The French budget for the next year amounts to nearly £73,000,000 sterling.

The Paris Bourse closed buoyant.

The intelligence from Italy is unimportant.

The difference between Prussia and Hesse would soon be settled, through the interference of the Diet.

It was reported that the Emperor of China had given notice to the Russians to quit the settlements on the Amoor, and that the Russian Embassy at Pekin was confined to its palace.

A ministerial crisis has arisen in Turkey.

The envoy of Prince Daniel, of Montenegro, had been assassinated at Constantinople.

Spain had given orders for an additional levy of 50,000 men for the war with Morocco.

At a grand municipal banquet recently given in Paris, the prefect of the Seine spoke in a very eulogistic manner of the new pacific era on which France had entered.

It was stated that the French Government was about to expend upwards of £500,000 in fortifying the ports of Algeria.

The provisional government of Florence had dispatched orders to all the diplomatic agents and public functionaries appointed by the Grand Duke, at present abroad, to return to Tuscany within a fortnight, under the penalty of losing their pecuniary allotments or pensions.

A report was current at Madrid that dysentery, and even cholera, had broken out among the Spanish troops in Morocco. It was thought that the Spanish generals would not assume the offensive till all their forces were concentrated.

The official detail of the Spanish losses on the 19th ult., and subsequent days, show that of the officers, nine were killed and forty five wounded; and of the soldiers, seventy-nine were killed and 717 wounded.

Cotton.—The Liverpool cotton market was easier, having declined ⅛d., with holders pressing on the market, particularly the new crop.

Produce.—The Liverpool produce market closed as follows: Coffee quiet. Rice firm. Rosin heavy at 4*s.* Spirits turpentine dull at 34*s.* Tea dull at 1*s.* 2*d.*

London Markets.—Baring's circular quotes: Breadstuffs steady. Sugar firm at an advance of 1*s.* for refining purposes. Rice steady.

Money Market.—The London money market was unchanged. Bullion in the Bank of England had decreased £82,000.

Consols closed at 95⅞ @ 96 ex-dividend.

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM CALIFORNIA.—*St. Louis, Dec.* 22.—The California overland mail, with San Francisco dates to the 28th ult., has arrived.

The steamer Cortez had reached San Francisco, causing much rejoicing—fears for her safety having been entertained.

A severe gale occurred on the 24th, flooding the streets of San Francisco, and causing much damage to the shipping in the harbor. The schooner General Morgan was sunk, and several other vessels were seriously injured.

A fire occurred at San Francisco on the 27th, destroying $10,000 worth of property.

The Austrian brig Joack, from Rio Janeiro, which was supposed to have foundered, had been found, anchored on the Mexican coast, with two sailors on board, who were in a starving condition. All the crew, with the exception of three others, who landed in a boat at San Blas, had died.

A slight shock of an earthquake was felt at San Francisco on the 25th ult.

It was rumored at San Francisco, that the U. S. Senatorial contest in the Legislature would be narrowed down to Gov. Weller and Mr. Baldwin, as the candidates. It was also supposed that the election would be postponed till the next session of the Legislature.

The revenue cutter William L. Marcy had returned to San Francisco, being unable to load at San Farralone Island, in consequence of a severe gale.

The Markets.—At San Francisco, business was dull, and no sales of importance had been effected since the departure of the last steamer. Sales of 300 casks of lard are reported at 13½c. per lb.

THE SLAVE YACHT WANDERER.—This vessel, which made its escape from the vigilant revenue cutters at Savannah some weeks ago, has turned up at Boston. It seems that it was bound for the coast of Africa in pursuit of a cargo of slaves. The Captain, Martin, *alias* Patten, went on shore at Flores, when Welton, the mate, got under weigh, and sailed for the coast of America. He arrived at Boston on the 24th. The crew, ten in number, have been committed to jail, and the vessel remains in charge of the authorities. Welton and a portion of the crew were imposed upon by Martin, and forced to submit, after the destination and object of the voyage were made known. We wonder if the piratical owner of the yacht, Lamar, will be permitted to bid it off again at a nominal price?

EXPORTS AND RECEIPTS OF COTTON.—*New Orleans, Dec.* 22.—The exports of cotton hence to England, during the past week, were 34,000 bales, while to Havre they reached only 1,000 bales. From Mobile the exports to England during the week were 10,000 bales. The increase in the receipts of cotton at all the ports, since September 1st to date, as compared with the same period last year, now amounts to 270,000 bales.

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Harper's Weekly will continue, as heretofore, to publish the best tales that are written by native and foreign authors. It has already published *A Tale of Two Cities*, by Charles Dickens (with original illustrations drawn for Harper's Weekly;) *What will he do with it?* by Sir E. Lytton Bulwer; *The Dead Secret*, by Wilkie Collins; *Lois the Witch*, by Mrs Gaskell, *A Good Fight*, by Charles Reade. It is now publishing *The Woman in White*, by Wilkie Collins, and will shortly commence the publication of a new serial story of American Life, by an eminent American author. This story also will be illustrated by the inimitable pencil of McLenan. On, or before the conclusion of these tales, others of equal merit will be commenced, it being the intention of the publishers to secure every work of undoubted excellence that is written here or abroad. It is hardly necessary to add, that the foreign serials which appear in Harper's Weekly are purchased from their authors by the proprietors of Harper's Weekly, who, in many instances, give for a mere right of priority what amounts to a handsome copyright to the author.

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Its first great aim is to become a *Reliable Newspaper*—reporting promptly and fairly everything of public interest concerning all parties and all public men, neither distorting nor exaggerating facts for the benefit or the injury of any, but rendering equal and exact justice to all alike. It does not profess neutrality upon any political issue, still less indifference to any great political movement; but while it will discuss everything connected with public affairs, with perfect freedom and with whatever ability it can command, it will do this, not in the interest, for the benefit, or under the control of any public man, or of any Political Party, but solely in the interest of Truth and Justice, and for the promotion of the welfare of the whole country. While upon all topics its tone will be firm, vigorous, and entirely independent, it will deal in argument rather than invective, in the language of persuasion rather than menace, and will strive to allay, by all fair and just appeals, rather than to increase by inflammatory counsels, the sectional agitation which disturbs the peace and threatens the welfare of the Federal Union. It will insist always upon a faithful adherence to the Constitution, respect for the Judicial authorities of the nation, and a strict compliance with the duties and obligations which devolve upon the citizens of a common country. Upon the subject of Slavery, while it will never seek occasion for thrusting it upon public attention, it will not shrink from its discussion whenever it shall be brought prominently before the country, and made the theme of public controversy; but it will treat it as a local institution, the creature of local law, and subject to the exclusive supervision and control of the communities in which it exists. The *Times* will resist every attempt, and will denounce every proposition, to wage war upon it from without, or to excite the fears, wound the pride and arouse the resentments of those States which may be disposed or obliged to permit its continued existence. But it will also oppose every endeavor to extend it into regions now free from its influence, to reopen the Slave Trade with Africa, to impose the laws and the principles on which it rests upon other States, and to exact for it an undue share of influence and of power in the Councils of the Confederacy. It will press upon all sections, upon the South and upon the North—the full discharge of all their duties under the Constitution, and will rebuke and resist every attempt on the part of ultraists, in either section, to promote their own views and objects at the expense of justice and the public good.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

Colonization and Commerce.

AN ADDRESS

Before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati, Ohio, Nov. 29, 1859.

BY FRANK P. BLAIR, JUN., OF MISSOURI.

The city which has led the march of civilization in the Great West, whose power and splendor—the growth of little more than one generation—rivals the matured glories which ages have contributed to others, is most fitted to lead in an enterprise intended to impart to the whole continent the principles upon which her own prosperity rests. The first-born of the ordinance of 1787, she will be recreant to her own origin if she shall fail to claim universal empire for the principle to which she owes her pre-eminence. That *magna charta*, conceived by the mind and heart of Mr. Jefferson, to secure you in the rights which he proclaimed to belong to all, in the immortal declaration which asserted our liberties, has opened to you a boundless career of opulence and glory; and I come with confidence to invoke your aid for the plan by which he sought to give to all the same noble inheritance which he secured to you.

When the great declaration of our rights was proclaimed, there existed amongst us an institution anomalous and inconsistent with its great truths, and with the form and spirit of the Government framed upon them. It is well known that not only Jefferson, but all the great men of that day, sought by every means to eradicate this evil. The plan by which Jefferson desired to give practical and universal effect to the true principles of our Government, and root out that element of evil which would fatally affect the whole, is contained in the following brief and pregnant sentences. In a letter to Mr. Sparks, he says:

"The second object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum, to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population (the negroes) from among us, and establish them under our patronage and protection, as a separate, free, and independent people, in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness."

Speaking of a proposition similar in many respects, urged by him upon the Legislature of his native State, he says:

"It has, however, been found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it even at this day; yet the day is not far distant when it must bear it and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people (the negroes) are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same Government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of *emancipation* and *deportation*, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should look in vain for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors."

In a letter to Mr. Coles, he said:

"Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. *It will come*; and whether brought on by the generous energies of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, if once stationed permanently within our country, and offering asylum and arms to the *oppressed*, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over."

The time has come to begin the movement for emancipation, to be accomplished by "the generous energies of our own minds," rather than through that other process, the contemplation of which fills us with horror and alarm. Every nation that has embraced Slavery has perished under the intolerable burden—perished either by violence or the poison with which it taints and corrupts society. Already the virus has penetrated, and is spreading through the veins of this nation; and unless speedy relief is found, we shall be fatally infected. It is admitted by all to be the cause of the deep and bitter feud which threatens to rend us into sections, and destroy the Confederacy; and yet no remedy is proposed, no solution hinted at, except to let it alone, to grow and fester and corrode. It is the cause of most of the ill-will between us and neighboring nations. It is tainting the morals and corrupting the blood of our race. It has devastated the soil and impoverished the mass of the people where it exists. It has banished education beyond the reach of the poor, and eradicated from the hearts of many all respect and love for free institutions. Its demoralizing influence has spread far beyond the confines of the States in which it is recognised, and allied itself politically with every element of evil to be found within the wide limits of the land. Its partisans seek openly to increase, extend, and perpetuate it, and we are told, even by those men who deplore these things, that it must be left alone. I say that measures must be taken, by which the people of the slave States can relieve themselves of it, or we shall soon cease to exist as a free people. Already, since the Revolution, the slaves have increased ten fold, mounting up from half a million to near five millions; an increase in the same proportion for the same length of time will make their number fifty millions. The country will be incapable of sustaining such a burden. What I propose is no measure of rashness or inconsiderate haste, but the deliberate and matured thought of the most far-seeing and sagacious of all our statesmen. It is simply to provide an asylum, in the congenial regions of the American tropics, for such of our negroes as are now free, or who hereafter may be enfranchised by States or individuals, and who may choose to go there, and to offer them such inducements, by securing them self-government, free homesteads, and protection against foreign or domestic molestation, as they will not and cannot refuse to accept.

This proposition covers a wide field of discussion, and I can do no more than glance at a few of the considerations which seem to recommend it. It does not seem to me that any objection can be raised to the purchase of the necessary territory by the Government. The power has been so often exercised, and especially by those who would be most likely to oppose the object of this purchase, that we may fairly consider that their mouths are closed. So also in regard to setting apart the country so purchased for the occupation of a particular race of people—that has been done often, and is being done every day. When the Indians began to encumber our Northwestern and Southwestern Territories, we bought their old homes, purchased new homes for them, paid for their removal to these new homes, and then paid them annuities, to induce them to remain there in peace and quiet. These Indians had been our enemies; the negroes have always been our friends and dependents, spending their lives in our service. Certainly we can do for a friendly people what we have so often done for our enemies. Those who believe that the negroes are an inferior race will rejoice in a complete separation of the races, and thus avoid that contact which deteriorates our own; nor is it possible for those who think differently to oppose the opening of new regions, where the negroes shall be invited to go, and take up free homesteads and enjoy free government under the protection of the United States. As well might the friends of the free white laborers object to the acquisition of new Californias, for their occupation and employment. It is clear that the two races cannot occupy the same States without mutual injury. One race will inflict either social or legal degradation upon the other. By long contact, their blood will become so mingled, that they will merge into a mongrel race, inferior to either of the original types. This is one of the most deplorable results to be apprehended from the unnatural juxtaposition or rather commingling of the races; and this contaminating process, already far advanced, threatens to make us a race of hybrids, and blot the beauty of that fair and glorious line, which we believe to be, in form and soul, the noblest development of mankind. This is no idle fear; it is a present and appalling reality—a muddy rivulet suffices to discolor the bright waters of a river—a small and dusky cloud obscures the sun, and shuts out his splendors from the world. The difference between the two races, whilst it serves to justify in the minds of some the system of Slavery as it exists here, makes that system in fact more injurious, because more difficult to eradicate—more intolerable in its forms, and more disgusting by its inevitable tendency to corrupt the blood of both races. Nothing can save us from the pollution but a complete separation.

I believe that the condition of affairs upon our continent at this time is such as to favor this measure. The empires established in the American tropics by the Spaniards are fast falling, if they have not already fallen, to decay, and the colored races are resuming sway in that climate so congenial to their natures. The attempt made by the Spaniards—a people long acclimated to tropical temperatures—to occupy these regions, has resulted in the obliteration of their chief characteristics, and the destruction of the race itself; whilst the undiminished vigor, increasing numbers, and rising importance, of the negroes, admonish us that there is to arise for them an empire which we cannot dispute, so long as the immutable laws of nature shall govern the world. We may mould that empire to usefulness, to advance our prosperity, and swell our own wealth and power, or it may arise under the same malign star which hailed the birth of negro domination in St. Domingo, destroying the white race; or else, under the protection of some other power, it may serve to curb our career, and threaten our predominance on this continent, or at least bring ruin along the shores of the Gulf.

In any event, we must make up our minds to behold this grand meridional empire, like

"Behemoth, biggest born of earth,
Upheave its vastness."

To make this ours, it appears to me that we have only to extend ourselves, our civilization and form of government, into the tropics, by means of the black men now among us, and, through them, impress ourselves upon the present population, thus excluding any other power. Is it possible to do so? Ten years have sufficed to plant half a million of our free white people in California. They went thither without aid or protection from the Government, because they could there acquire fortune more rapidly than in the older States. A half million more who went out have returned with fortunes realized. This exodus to the land of gold has redounded to the wealth and greatness of the Republic, because we did not lose the labor of citizens, but only changed the locality in which that labor was employed; and because it was five times more remunerative there than here, the manifold interest of the whole country prospered by the creation of the additional wealth. The free blacks in this country amount to something more than half a million. If similar inducements were held out to them, would they not also go forth to better their condition in a country where their labor would be more productive? It may be said that they have not the energy, knowledge, or means, of the white men who peopled our Pacific coast. This may be admitted; for the pioneers of the Golden State were the most enterprising of our heroic and indomitable race. But neither the distance nor the dangers attending a voyage to the tropics are as great as those which barred the way to our Pacific possessions. Nor are the motives which impelled our people in such numbers and with such rapid flight to gather fortune there half so urgent as those which should, and which, I may venture to say, will, animate our free negroes to fly a country in which their condition is that of a degraded and persecuted caste, for one in which they can have no superiors, and one in which their wildest dreams of wealth can be realized with the least possible toil.

The tropical regions of America are the richest in the whole world. This is due to the peculiar configuration of that part of our continent, and the prevalence of the northeastern and southeastern trade winds, which come sweeping across a vast expanse of ocean, surcharged with moisture; and striking at right angles upon the coast, they penetrate deep into the interior, where the moisture is precipitated by the cold atmosphere of the mountains, forming the largest rivers in the world, which traverse the entire country, imparting to it the most extraordinary fertility, and giving unquestionable guaranty of its being the predestined seat of future empire. For civilization, be it observed, is of amphibious birth. It has ever arisen on the sea shore, on the banks of the navigable rivers, half from the flood and half from the land. The Ganges, the Nile, and the great cities which stood, as it were, knee-deep, or still stand, in the waters of the Mediterranean, vouch for this. A river country, sooner or later, becomes the seat of opulence and power, and the country to which I allude has a pre-eminent title to that appellation. Even here, on the banks of the "beautiful river," I am constrained to declare that the Amazon, the La Plata, and the Orinoco, together with their tributaries, are unrivalled on either continent; nor are there anywhere else on the globe such an endless diversity of gorgeous scenes, such boundless expanses of vegetable and floral magnificence, as their valleys disclose. In the whole tropical region of our continent, the eye of man may behold one unending round of vernal promise and ripening harvests. There, the opening blossom and the matured fruit mingle on the same stem, which is released from its burden and converted into a cornucopia by every passing breeze. The same gentle swaying that whitens the ground with the petals of the former, strews it with the bursting fruit. The radiant climate "has no winter in its year," and the omnipresent summers, or, rather, the three seasons in their indivisible union, have no interregnum in their rule, and give the teeming earth no rest from the labor of bringing forth her choicest productions. There the task of agriculture will be, not to stimulate, but to repress and tame the powers of the soil. There, the household, however numerous, will not be adequate to gather what the solitary husbandman shall sow. Hours of labor will purchase weeks of luxurious ease. Skies and earth, air and water, proclaim the promised land, nay, the paradise of the negro. While the white man degenerates and withers in the glare of all its splendor, sinking into a valetudinarian, impotent in body and mind, or suddenly encounters death in breathing the subtle poisons with which its exhalations are pregnant, the black man, by virtue of that mysterious quality of organism conferred by race, finds these exhalations innoxious, and the torrid glare an elixir for body and mind. His very pores, like those of a plant, seem to absorb the solar light and fire, and the reekings of the moist and warm earth affect his health as little as the odor of hecatombs did the disposition of the Epicurean gods. In such a region, his nature is in harmony with all the elements which surround him.

——"Afric is all the sun's,
And as her earth her human clay is kindled."

His form glows with a more intense and buoyant animal life, presenting a striking contrast to the sickly exotic of Circassian blood, in the exuberance of its native joy, and his soul laughs back to the laughing landscapes, which, like Aaron's rod, blow in a single night. And who shall say that the same congenial influences would not aid in evolving the latent capacities of his intellectual nature—a nature which has never yet had an opportunity for self-development under the auspices of Christianity? It were irrational to answer in the negative, when we know that a universal harmony subsists between the moral and the natural world.

In the tropical regions of Asia and Africa the prevailing winds do not traverse such a wide extent of ocean, and hence do not collect such a vast amount of water as those which fan the face of the tropical regions of America. The direction of the former is parallel with the coast, while here the trade winds strike the coast perpendicularly, penetrating and carrying their moisture into the interior. Hence it is that the coasts only of the tropical regions of Africa and Asia are fringed with verdure, and the vast interior is a rainless desert, impenetrable and fatal to life. This, which appears to me to be a most striking and philosophical reason for the great difference existing between the intertropical regions of America and those of the older continents, I find in a pamphlet by Lieut. Maury, on the basin of the Amazon. Another remarkable difference is, that in the Asiatic and African tropics there is a dry and wet season, each lasting half the year. This is accounted for by the fact that the winds do not prevail steadily and unvaryingly from the sea, as is the case in America within the torrid zone. This wet and dry season, which alternates in Asia and Africa, according to my information, is what has heretofore rendered it impossible to cultivate cotton in those regions. Many years since, I read a statement made by a Mississippi cotton planter, who had been employed by the British Government to test the practicability of raising cotton in India to supply her manufacturers, and make them independent of America for this staple. This gentleman was undoubtedly selected on account of his intelligence and practical experience. So momentous and important a trust could not have been confided to incompetent or unfaithful hands, by such wise and able men as the British rulers have proved themselves to be—and there can be no doubt that they presented the very strongest motives to urge him to success in the undertaking. What reward would England grudge the man who could give her a supply of cotton in India? But the experiment, after long and patient trial, failed; and the reason for the failure, given by the gentleman of whom I have spoken, was the prevalence of wet and dry seasons—a season of floods and a season of drought, each occupying half the year. When planted at the beginning of the rainy season, it flourished for a while, but the long continuance of rainy weather destroyed it entirely. If he avoided the wet season, it was found that the drought was as disastrous as the long-continued rain; and so, after all, his patient and earnest efforts failed, and King Cotton still rears his throne on this side of the Atlantic, and his reluctant votaries in Europe pay their annual tribute to our slave owners. In the American tropics the rains are distributed throughout the year as they are in our temperate latitudes, but there they make an unceasing summer, maturing two crops in the year. The cotton plant grows without cultivation or care, and can be produced more abundantly and cheaper than in any of the States of this Union. The same is true, in a still greater degree, of the sugar cane.

I remember when Virginia and Kentucky, and other border slave States, were on the eve of emancipation. Everybody will tell you this, and some will say that these States would long since have emancipated their slaves but for the meddling impertinence of the abolitionists. I have heard many good people say this, who firmly and sincerely believe in its truth; nevertheless, it is not the whole truth. The fact is, that a very great rise took place in the price of cotton about that time, and has been maintained ever since, and this multiplied the money value of negroes three or four fold. It is a sad confession to make, but it must be made. The advance in the value of slaves caused the humane policy of emancipation to go down to a discount, to be computed by applying the rule of the inverse ratio. Such, alas! is the frailty of our nature, that all men will seek to justify what seems to be their own interest; and hence the change of sentiment upon the subject of Slavery at the South, reversing all her maxims of policy, creeping stealthily beneath the ermine of the judge, and by a judicial mandate robbing the poor negro of his soul to justify the enslavement of his person. Cotton is indeed King, if he can thus drive another rivet in the chain which holds five millions of bondmen. It may not be an unprofitable inquiry to consider whether he is not equally powerful to loose as to bind. If the half million and more of free negroes now in the United States should be transplanted to the tropics, and should employ themselves, and the natives of the country under their guidance, in planting cotton and sugar, it would make an immense difference in the supply of these staples. They could raise them more abundantly and cheaply than can be done in the Southern States with slave labor. The competition would be difficult to withstand, and would certainly dispose the minds of men to contemplate emancipation with more complacency than they do now. Would not the hope thus held out inspire those who belong to that race, and who are now free, with an eager desire to embrace the offer which I have supposed our Government might make them? How noble the task of redeeming their own race from bondage, and how full of inspiration the thought! Many of them are gifted with a high order of intelligence, and I believe them capable of such improvement as will enable them to establish and maintain a better and more stable Government than any now existing in the tropics—one which would confer benefits upon the whole world.

Volumes have been written and spoken about the commerce of the Indies and the East—a commerce which has enriched all the nations which have possessed and enjoyed it, building up vast cities in the deserts through which, in ancient times, it took its laborious course, and creating Empires and States into whose lap it was poured, to decay and disappear from among nations with its loss. This vast commerce, which has founded empires, was itself created by the productive power of the colored races of Asia—none of which are capable of enduring the fervors of the torrid zone as well as the negro, none of which possesses greater capacity for improvement, or more patient industry, than the people of that race—and the country from which, for so many ages, this almost miraculous stream of wealth has flowed, cannot be compared with the intertropical regions of America for fertility of soil and mineral resources. I have already adverted to some of the reasons which give a decided superiority to the tropics of this continent, and which make it absolutely certain that they are destined to supply the world with cotton and sugar. Here, also, are produced the finest qualities of tobacco, and the best and most abundant supplies of coffee, all the precious woods and dye stuffs, medicinal plants, and the tropical fruits. It is, moreover, the richest region of the world in gold, and silver, and precious stones. This immense reservoir of wealth, whose commerce will one day make the marvellous riches of the Orient seem insignificant by comparison, lies adjacent to our ports, almost within reach of our outstretched arm, accessible to our fleets by a few days sail across the Gulf, and its vast interior penetrated by mighty rivers, navigable for thousands of miles by sea-going vessels. Europe can only avail herself of the productions of the East by voyaging half around the world; which, with steam vessels even, is an affair of months. A few days steaming is all that is necessary to reach our India from any of our great seaports. The Mississippi river pours itself out into the very lap of the tropics, and the great Gulf stream, gathering there its volume, pours its floods along our Atlantic seaboard, as if nature had provided these two great currents, flowing south and north, to be the arteries of our interchanging commerce.

The torrid zone contains more cultivable land than all the rest of the earth put together, and is the most productive with the least labor. On this continent, its resources may be said to be untouched, for the small part of it which has been subjected to cultivation is insignificant indeed, when compared with the vast tracts of its untamed wilderness. All that is required to develop its untold wealth is, a race of men capable of enduring the climate, and who shall at the same time be sufficiently advanced in civilization to be capable of maintaining a stable Government to protect property. Experience has shown that our race cannot extend itself to that region without losing its hardihood and vigor—indeed, it cannot propagate itself in that climate, and requires constant recruiting from the temperate zone to keep up its numbers. Even in the mountainous regions, whose elevation produces the climate of the temperate latitudes, the descendants of the Spanish conquerors have, from some cause, diminished in numbers, and become thoroughly demoralized, and incapable of maintaining any kind of government worthy of that name. All the productive industry is performed by the negro race, and it is by that race alone that those regions are to be regenerated, and brought within the circle of civilization. In the United States, there are five millions of negroes, who have received, under our immediate tuition, an amount of instruction and knowledge in government, religion, and all the arts of civilized life, which makes them superior, as a people, to any of the colored races of the world. Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary under the Administration of Lord John Russell, in speaking of a plan to promote the immigration of the free negroes from the United States into the British West India islands, bears this emphatic testimony in their behalf:

"Such an addition to the existing population of Trinidad would have a tendency to raise *the whole community in the scale of civilization*; whereas there is precisely the opposite tendency with respect to immigration from any other quarter, and this is no slight drawback to the advantage to be obtained from it."

It is this race of men, christianized in our churches, civilized by our firesides, and educated in government by hearing our political discussions, through whom I would extend our laws, our power, and our influence, to the tropics of America, and make its wealth tributary to our commerce, requiting us a thousand fold for every sacrifice it would cost; expiating the error of their enslavement by giving the enfranchised bondmen free homesteads and free government; removing from our midst the prolific cause of bitterness between brethren; brushing away an institution whose malign influence brings desolation wherever it is found, and avenges the wrong done to the subject race by the evil it inflicts upon the wrong doer.

I invoke the example of the pioneer nation in colonization, Great Britain. She has created an empire, surpassing in extent and solidity that of Rome, by her colonial system, imparting to her dependencies her own free institutions, and making them adhere to the empire without force, from a sense of mutual advantage, and the attraction of a common power and glory. It is this which has made her the heart of the world of commerce, its life-giving currents imparting strength and power to resist the combined despotisms of Europe.

What has been her policy in relation to the negroes under her control in the West Indies, and what the result of that policy? She has liberated and instructed them, and has propagated her power and influence, through their instrumentality, to such a degree as to control most of the commerce of those regions, and to sway the counsels of all the surrounding nations; whilst we, to whom the people of Spanish America once looked with confidence, and who formed their Governments upon the model of our Republic, yielding to us the largest share of their trade, and guiding themselves by our counsel, are now regarded on every hand with suspicion and detestation, because the policy of our Government is to hold in bondage the colored race, to which they mostly belong, and to extend that system by violence and fraud, until it shall embrace them in its folds. The public journals have recently given us the news of a most important acquisition of territory in Central America, made by the British empire through the instrumentality of her Jamaica negroes—a territory as large as one of our second-class States, rich and valuable in itself, but still more valuable from its position, commanding the routes across the Isthmus, and fixing British supremacy in Central America. I allude, of course, to the cession of the Belize, or British Honduras, by Guatemala, to Great Britain—a cession completed within the last few months by a solemn treaty, wrung from the reluctant and pertinacious resistance of Guatemala by the obstinate courage and superior vigor of a few thousand Jamaica negroes. They were planted there by Great Britain, under the pretence of cutting logwood; and although they have never numbered more than twelve or fourteen thousand, they have maintained possession for more than a century, often repulsing invasion by the Spaniards during their domination, and by the whole force of Guatemala since her independence, and have at last succeeded in giving Great Britain a secure foothold for her power in Central America, to which the weaker nations around will gravitate with the same certainty that brings a falling edifice to the ground. What would our Government give for such a foothold upon that thoroughfare of nations, across which the gold of California pours itself upon us, exposed, together with the lives of our citizens, to its many hazards? And what has become of the Monroe doctrine, with which certain people have been beguiling this credulous nation, while these Jamaica negroes have made this solid conquest for the British Crown? Set this service of a reviled and despised race to their most gracious mistress, Queen Victoria, against the performances of our filibuster Presidents, and which will outweigh? Consider with what poor success one of these last went out to the bombardment of Greytown, to dispossess these same Jamaica negroes, who have there made another lodgment for the power of England, in the name of the Mosquito king. The present Chief Executive refused to ratify the treaty by which the British agreed to surrender their occupation of the Bay islands and Mosquito coast, in conformity with the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, because the convention by which this surrender was made provided "that *Slavery* shall not at any time hereafter be permitted to exist therein." Thus, it seems that England demanded a guaranty against the enslavement of her negro subjects, who had been planted along the coast and on the islands, from the Belize to Greytown, and republican America prefers that the coast and islands should remain in their possession rather than admit such a guaranty. Can any other reason be imagined for such conduct, except that the power which controls this Government looks to the acquisition of these regions for the purpose of subjecting them to Slavery? Gen. Walker was invited to Nicaragua, and received there with open arms. He might have maintained himself, and established our power and influence in that country permanently, but he was induced to issue a decree re-establishing Slavery, by assurances of assistance from the dominant power in this country. The native inhabitants of Nicaragua, of whom nine-tenths belong to the colored races, took the alarm, very justly apprehending that they would be re-enslaved if that system again took root; and they united to expel Walker, whom they had so recently invited among them. It is by such acts that we have brought home to these people the knowledge of our intention to enslave them. The British have studiously and ostentatiously proclaimed and practiced a policy exactly the reverse. The mass of the people being negroes and mestizos, and afraid of being made the subjects of Slavery, have learned to detest this Government, whilst the few remaining families of pure Spanish blood are Monarchists, and naturally turn to Europe rather than America. It is curious enough that the Liberal or Democratic party of most of the Spanish-American States is composed of the mixed bloods and colored races. It is what would be called the free-negro party in this country. They are not very profound in their political philosophy, and have not discovered that Slavery is the foundation of Liberty, and hence they are averse to the schemes of their fellow Democrats in the United States, to regenerate them by reducing them to Slavery. Let them hold fast to that faith, and the world is not without hope for them yet. It is the fair star of morning, which ushers a bright and glorious day.

It is the fashion in some quarters to deride all attempts to improve the condition of the negro race, and thus justify the cupidity which enslaves them by proclaiming them unfit for every higher condition. No examples are oftener cited to uphold this theory than the condition of Cuba and Hayti. I am content to stand or fall by these examples. I find in a work published under the authority of Congress, upon the subject of our commercial relations, (vol. 1, p. 570,) the following remarkable statement:

"Among the countries with which the United States have commercial intercourse, Hayti holds the ninth rank as respects tonnage. All the States are more or less interested in the Haytien trade. The Northeastern States find a market there for their fish and other merchandise. Pennsylvania, Northern Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, for their salted pork; Vermont, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Ohio, for their salted beef; Philadelphia and Boston, North and South Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, for their household furniture, their rice and tobacco. The manufacturers of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, have already secured an extensive market in Hayti for their cheap cotton textures, and successfully compete with European manufacturers. The official returns of the United States show that Mexico, with a population of 8,000,000, imported from the different ports of the Union, in 1851, less by $350,596 than Hayti. The trade of the United States with the latter country is therefore more profitable than with Mexico. Indeed, American vessels generally return in ballast from Mexican ports, or go to other States in search of freight, while in Hayti they always find cargoes. * * * In 1851, the United States exported to Hayti cotton goods valued at $296,000, while the value of similar goods exported to Cuba reach only $26,000. The soap exported from the United States to the former country (Hayti) exceeded 1,928,682 pounds, to the latter (Cuba) only 389,748. Hayti received from the United States in 1851 eight times as much flour as Cuba, and six times as much salted pork."

When we reflect that Hayti has little more than one-third of the population of Cuba, and that the United States have never had a commercial or any other kind of treaty to encourage or protect our commerce with that people, these results are absolutely astounding, and refute in the most conclusive manner the idle stories of the wretchedness, poverty, and squalor, of the Haytiens. Whence comes their ability to maintain such a commerce, and whence their means to take the large amount of exports from the United States, exceeding so largely all that we send to the 8,000,000 of Mexico, and to Cuba? The simple facts which I have read from the official returns of our commercial intercourse stamp with unerring certainty the fallacy of the partial and prejudiced statements of the apologists of Slavery.

In like manner we have had it dinned into our ears for nearly a quarter of a century, that the British West India islands have been ruined by emancipation. The facts of the case, taken from authentic sources, so far from bearing out this theory, prove precisely the reverse. It is beyond dispute that their ruin had already been accomplished by Slavery; that almost every estate in those islands was mortgaged for what it was worth, and a great many for much more, before the act of emancipation; that in 1830, a few years prior to emancipation, petitions were presented to the British Parliament, describing the condition of these colonies in the darkest colors, and earnestly soliciting relief; that the production of sugar in the island of Jamaica alone, for the ten years ending with 1830, was 201,843 hogsheads less than for the ten years ending with 1820. At this period the sugar planters of the British West Indies enjoyed a monopoly of the British markets, the sugars of the British colonies of India and Singapore not even being allowed to compete. This monopoly and the high price of sugar stimulated the production to such a degree that the slaves were actually worked to death; and whilst the free negroes were steadily increasing, the slaves were dying off at a rate which was described at the time as "appalling." In eleven out of eighteen of these islands (by a statement in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1849) the slaves decreased "in twelve years no less than 60,219, namely, from 558,194 to 497,975." Then came emancipation, and in the next twelve years there was an increase of 54,076 in the number of negroes of but ten colonies. There is no possible doubt about these facts, taken as they are from the population returns made to Parliament, for they are corroborated by Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, one of the strongest advocates for what he delicately denominates "compulsory labor." He declares that the same state of facts exists now in Cuba, where the average life of a slave is seven years, and nothing prevents the extinction of Slavery in that island by the extinction of the slaves, (working them to death,) except the African slave trade, through which their numbers are kept up. The same cause has ruined the Dutch colony of Surinam, where Slavery was allowed to flourish, until "out of 917 plantations, 636 have been totally abandoned," and the remainder are on the road to destruction. No better proof of the ruinous tendency of this institution need be sought, however, than a comparison between the free-labor and slave States of this Union. Not only were the British West Indies made bankrupt by Slavery, with sugar at high prices, and a close monopoly of the British home market, but, even after emancipation took place, they were by act of 1846 deprived of this monopoly, and the British market thrown open to the sugars of Brazil and Cuba and the whole world. This made their ruin complete. Our Louisiana sugar planters tell us every day, that if the duty of thirty per cent. is taken off of sugar, and our ports are thrown open to the competition of Cuba and Brazil, that they will also be utterly ruined. By the admissions of the planters themselves, the people of the United States pay $12,000,000 annually, to protect 15,003 Louisiana sugar planters, and save them from bankruptcy. But after a while, the freedom which Great Britain gave to her slaves worked off the deadly effects of Slavery, and nobly breasted the competition of the slave labor of Cuba and Brazil, where negroes continued to be worked to death, the void being filled up from Africa, and prosperity has again dawned upon those fair islands.

"In the last two years of Slavery, 1832-'33, (says the official returns,) these islands exported 8,471,744 cwt. In the two years 1857-'58 they exported to Great Britain alone 8,736,654 cwt., and besides that a large trade, altogether new, has sprung up with Australia and the United States, and other countries, of which we have no account."

The laborers, being free to do so, have also turned their attention to the production of other articles for their own comfort or greater profit. The returns made by the authorities in these islands are most emphatic in declaring that their prosperity is reviving, and that the improvement in the condition of the negroes is unspeakably great, and that morally and intellectually they are advancing. I put this clear and unequivocal testimony of those who know whereof they speak, against the loose assertions of the advocates of "compulsory labor," who admit that the Cubans work their slaves to death in an average of seven years, recruiting the decimated ranks from Africa, and yet hold up this system for our admiration and guidance.

I do not pretend that emancipation has with a stroke of magic converted the negroes of the British West Indies into polished, refined, moral, and intellectual beings. Neither did emancipation work these miracles instantaneously upon our own race, and yet it is among the earliest and most powerful of the causes of all the civilization and refinement that we possess. I do say, however, that the negro race in the tropics have made a marvellous advance, considering the short space of time they have possessed the boon of freedom. Who that has read of the horrible barbarities inflicted by the brutal negroes who massacred the entire white population of St. Domingo, and has lived to behold the moderation and magnanimity with which Geffrard deposed the tyrant Faustin and restored the Republic, can doubt that such is the case? I contend, however, that what emancipation has done for the British West Indies, in redeeming them from the atrophy of Slavery to partial prosperity, or what the Haytiens have been able to do, emerging through blood and the most awful convulsions, from a condition the most abject and brutal, to a position far more respectable than that of most of the Spanish American States, is no measure of what could be accomplished by our freed men, should they be permitted, under our protection and guidance, to plant themselves in the tropics. They would bear with them a knowledge of our civilization and government; they would carry habits of industry acquired among us, and a morality and religion not possessed by any of the people of those countries; and if we should accord to them free homesteads, withheld from the enfranchised slaves of the West Indies, we should at once impart independence with their freedom, elevate them in character, and assure their prosperity. The Emperor of Russia, with wisdom learned in the stern school of adversity, finding that his millions of serfs could not defend his empire against a few thousand men animated by the ardor of freedom, has led the way for us in this reform, and not only has given his serfs liberty, but forced his reluctant nobles to give them homesteads also, that they may soar at once to the full stature of men whom the law can no longer enslave, nor want reduce to subserviency. Wise and gracious Prince, he has built his throne in the hearts of grateful millions, a fortress more impregnable than Sebastopol. The nobility still resist the execution of this great measure of inspired wisdom. They have not the sense to see that it is the only thing which can save them from the humiliation of defeat by foreign foes, or the sure, if long delayed, resentment of those whom they have despoiled of their manhood, without depriving them of the strength which enables them to destroy. They are like the senseless oligarchy of our Southern States, who weaken their country by filling it with a degraded race, and who, in trampling down freedom, have obliterated from the hearts of their bondmen the principle which humanizes the heart, leaving the brutal vigor and the quenchless passions, which will one day bring swift destruction on all, unless a wise policy shall prevail.

Our task is not more difficult than that of the young Alexander. Shall we approve ourselves less courageous than he? His ancestors have often sunk under the steel of the assassin, when their policy conflicted with that of the selfish nobility; indeed, the assassin's steel is a common weapon in the hands of the cunning and cowardice which forever preside over the counsels of an oligarchy. Kings and commoners have alike felt its edge, and hearts that throbbed for the oppressed have been known to stain with the red drops of life the palace walls, the Senate's floor, and the dusty plain, of distant lands; but who can find daggers for every heart in this land that loves liberty? The hope of Russia may be swept away, for it lives only with one life; but here, its votaries are like the unnumbered leaves of our forests.

I have spoken of this plan of colonizing our slaves as a means of enabling them to attain a higher position and greater comfort and happiness; but this is not the only object, or even the chief one, to be attained by this grand movement. Mr. Jefferson did not so regard it. He was not unmindful of the interests of this dependent race, and was animated in all he said and did by a sincere desire for their elevation and improvement. He recognised their claim to the rights of manhood, and desired to place them in a position where, the legal status of freemen being conceded to them, they could not be sunk into social inferiority by the pressure of a different race, stronger than themselves, and in whom "nature, habit, and opinion," had engrafted an ineradicable antipathy. Hence he favored the separation of the races for the sake of the negro, but still more for the sake of his own race. "Our physical and moral characters," "our happiness and safety," to use his own impressive words, demand that this shall be done, "or worse will follow;" if not accomplished "by the generous energies of our own minds, then it will be brought about by the bloody process of St. Domingo." He knew full well that the chief evils of Slavery do not fall on the slave; up to a certain point, it is undeniable that the slaves in this country are improved by a mild subjection to a cultivated and enlightened race. Who does not know that the negroes in the United States are superior to what they were when brought from their native jungles, and who does not know that the interest of the master alone, if no higher motive, insures, in the main, gentle and humane treatment to the slave? Men generally do not destroy their property by bad treatment; and, apart from this, the mass of slave owners at the South are animated by the highest and purest motives in their kindness to their dependents. But "man does not live by bread alone," and the slave is denied every aspiration in this world that soars beyond the wants of his physical nature—this is its condemnation—but the institution deals more harshly still with the great mass of our own race. To them it denies bread even, for it closes upon them the door by which this bread is to be won. It injures them fatally, by monopolizing and degrading all the industrial occupations, which elsewhere supply the wants of an independent yeomanry, puts education within their reach, and makes improvement possible. Let me read you the sickening description which Senator Hammond, the orator of the South Carolina oligarchy, gives of the mass of non-slaveholders of his own State. He says:

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and, too often, by what is in its effects far worse, trading with slaves, and leading them to plunder for their benefit."

Hear, also, this vivid sketch of the fatal influence of this system upon the State and county in which he lives, from Senator Clay, of Alabama:

"In traversing that county, he will discover numerous farm houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted, and dilapidated; he will observe fields once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbingers, fox-tail and broom-sedge; he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find that 'one only master grasps the whole domain' that once furnished homes for a dozen white families."

You have no need to inquire further to find where the pressure of Slavery falls the heaviest. It is upon the non-slaveholding masses, men born with no inheritance except their right to labor with their naked hands, and despoiled of their right by the existence of an institution which makes labor disreputable—makes permanent employment impossible, places education beyond their reach, and reduces them to the necessity of eking out existence on poor land rented of some rich slaveholder, of which the rent consumes all but the merest necessaries of life. There is something in the very nature of Slavery which limits the demand for labor to the supply which it affords. It is averse to the creation of large cities, which multiply and diversify employments. It favors that kind of agriculture which spreads over a vast surface, and whose rude labors do not require skill. A large city has wants unknown to the habits of country life, and the skill which belongs only to the hand worked by a willing mind is required to supply these wants; hence cities only grow where labor is free, and they have always been the nurseries of civil liberty. The tiller of the soil in countries where labor is free is called a husbandman, to denote the tenderness and solicitude with which he cultivates his land. In countries where men cultivate the soil with the compelled labor of slaves, no such term is known. Men who devastate and destroy the lands with the rude hands of slaves are never called by a name so full of tenderness and affection. This fact is full of significance. It speaks of the utter heartlessness of that system which destroys two races of men, and blights the soil under their feet to render their ruin still more complete. How clear to our minds become the traditions of the past, when viewed in the light of passing events. We are told of fabulous Deities, who hurled from on high the giant Titans, for aspiring to an equality with themselves, and cast huge mountains upon their prostrate bodies. The vanquished Titans shook the whole earth with their struggles, and belched forth volcanic fires from the torn and shattered mountains, but the victorious gods sat serene on the heights of Olympus. The weak and timid were content to worship the victors, and deride the impotent rage of the vanquished. The fable typifies to the startled imagination of mankind the first great battle field where Freedom fell before the thunderbolts of power and ambition—a battle to be forever renewed through all the circling ages of the world. We have but to look forth, and the same vision is before us. The huge mountain of Slavery lies heavy upon the prostrate masses of our own race, and presses them down until they lie buried three strata deep under the enslaved and the enslavers, piled up above them like Pelion upon Ossa. Shall we bow low and worship these oligarchs who fulminate from above like the gods of Olympus? Or shall we lift from the shoulders of the people of our own race this vast and intolerable burden? Or shall we wait until despair gives them strength denied to nature, and brings deliverance and one universal ruin in the same hour?

I say, let us open up the tropics to our free blacks, and those who may hereafter become free; separate the races, and give to each the climate which the Creator has adapted to the nature of each. I do not ask that they shall be forced asunder; only put it in their power to conform themselves to those laws of their nature which so plainly indicate that each race of mankind has a zone of its own, and this grand scheme can then be safely left to work itself out, and dissolve that unnatural connection fraught with such evil to two races of men.

Under our peculiar form of government, and the circumstances which have surrounded us, we have not felt the necessity of colonies to extend our commerce. That necessity of all commercial nations has not up to this time been forced upon us, for we have been able to expand our commerce throughout the temperate zone of this continent by sending forth our own people, and receiving them back into a share of our Central Government; and undoubtedly this is a vast improvement upon a colonial system, so long as it is applied to our own people, or to a people who can assimilate to us; but it will not do if stretched beyond this line, or made to embrace discordant and dissimilar races. Now, everything indicates that our people are about to step beyond the tropical line. The necessities of commerce, and its insatiable thirst, impel us to that direction. If we are wise, we shall stop short at the line which bounds the temperate zone with our expanding system of States, and adopt the colonial policy which has stretched the empire of Great Britain around the world, and brought all the races of mankind under her sway, to add to her power and greatness. It will not do to embrace within our present system the mongrel hordes of Mexico, or Cuba, or any part of tropical America. Shall we invite to share our government and assist to govern us those who have so signally failed to govern themselves? In Mexico, out of 8,000,000 of people, 7,000,000 are Indians; they would enjoy a representation in Congress equal to that of all our Northwestern States. It is absurd to suppose that we will permit those people, who have been in a chronic state of revolution for a quarter of a century, to silence the voice of the great Northwest in the councils of our nation. Yet it does not follow that we are to allow them to drift along into anarchy and chaos, when, by stretching forth our hands, we can give them a stable Government, and enable them to maintain it under our protection, and thus restore them to the peaceful pursuits of civilization and to prosperity, planting everywhere among them our enfranchised slaves, to propagate our power and influence, as England has done with her Jamaica negroes along the coasts of Central America, and thus gradually expanding into a system of colonies, to enclose the Gulf, and subject the entire intertropical regions of America to our power, making them tributary to our commerce, absorbing the surplus products of our factories and farms, to be repaid with the wealth of the tropics, enabling us to outstrip all competitors in opulence and power, and dictate to the world as republican Rome dictated to the effete empires of Asia.

The mighty principle destined to accomplish this grand design was first planted here by him who was inspired to proclaim it to the startled nations; here the declaration of the rights of man first took the form of irrepealable law, and its vital power, lifting you into greatness, will grow with your growth, until the empire of Freedom shall claim the whole continent, through the vigor it has imparted to its own progeny.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present Administration; to the extension of Slavery into free Territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, do

1. *Resolve*, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, shall be preserved.

2. *Resolved*, That, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the unalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure those rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it, to prevent the establishment of Slavery in the Territories of the United States by positive legislation prohibiting its existence therein. And we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

3. *Resolved*, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in its Territories those twin relics of barbarism, Polygamy and Slavery.

4. *Resolved*, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property, of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them;

Their Territory has been invaded by an armed force;

Spurious and pretended Legislative, Judicial, and Executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

The rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed;

Test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office;

The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied;

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated;

They have been deprived of life, liberty, and property, without due process of law;

That the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

The right to choose their Representatives has been made of no effect;

Murders, robberies, and arsons, have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;

That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and Humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

5. *Resolved*, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present Free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her Territory.

6. *Resolved*, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.

7. *Resolved*, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practical route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

8. *Resolved*, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

9. *Resolved*, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guaranties liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

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A COMPOUND remedy, in which we have labored to produce the most effectual alterative that can be made. It is a concentrated extract of Para Sarsaparilla, so combined with other substances of still greater alterative power as to afford an effective antidote for the diseases Sarsaparilla is reputed to cure. It is believed that such a remedy is wanted by those who suffer from Strumous complaints, and that one which will accomplish their cure must prove of immense service to this large class of our afflicted fellow-citizens. How completely this compound will do it has been proven by experiment on many of the worst cases to be found of the following complaints:

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Sarsaparilla has, and deserves much, the reputation of accomplishing these ends. But the world has been egregiously deceived by preparations of it, partly because the drug alone has not all the virtue that is claimed for it, but more because many preparations, pretending to be concentrated extracts of it, contain but little of the virtue of Sarsaparilla, or anything else.

During late years the public have been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of Extract of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick, for they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but often no curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter and painful disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, until the name itself is justly despised, and has become synonymous with imposition and cheat. Still we call this compound Sarsaparilla, and intend to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. And we think we have ground for believing it has virtues which are irresistible by the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. In order to secure their complete eradication from the system, the remedy should be judiciously taken according to directions on the bottle.

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has won for itself such a renown for the cure of every variety of Throat and Lung Complaint, that it is entirely unnecessary for us to recount the evidence of its virtues, wherever it has been employed. As it has long been in constant use throughout this section, we need not do more than assure the people its quality is kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may be relied on to do for their relief all it has ever been found to do.

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AYER'S AGUE CURE,
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Intermittent Fever, or Fever and Ague, Remittent Fever, Chill Fever, Dumb Ague, Periodical Headache, or Bilious Headache, and Billious Fevers, indeed for the whole class of Diseases originating in Biliary Derangement, caused by the Malaria of Miasmatic Countries.

NO one remedy is louder called for by the necessities of the American people than a sure and safe cure for Fever and Ague. Such we are now enabled to offer, with a perfect certainty that it will eradicate the disease, and with assurance, founded on proof, that no harm can arise from its use in any quantity.

That which protects from or prevents this disorder must be of immense service in the communities where it prevails. *Prevention* is better than cure, for the patient escapes the risk which he must run in violent attacks of this baleful distemper. This "Cure" expels the miasmatic poison of Fever and Ague from the system, and prevents the development of the disease, if taken on the first approach of its premonitory symptoms. It is not only the best remedy ever yet discovered for this class of complaints, but also the cheapest. The large quantity we supply for a dollar brings it within the reach of everybody; and in billious districts, where Fever and Ague prevails, everybody should have it and use it freely, both for cure and protection. It is hoped this price will place it within the reach of all—the poor as well as the rich. A great superiority of this remedy over any other ever discovered for the speedy and certain cure of Intermittents is, that it contains no Quinine or mineral, consequently it produces no quinism or other injurious effects whatever upon the constitution. Those cured by it are left as healthy as if they had never had the disease.

Fever and Ague is not alone the consequence of the miasmatic poison. A great variety of disorders arise from its irritation, among which are Neuralgia, Rheumatism, Gout, Headache, Blindness, Toothache, Earache, Catarrh, Asthma, Palpitation, Painful Affection in the Spleen, Hysterics, Pain in the Bowels, Colic, Paralysis, and Derangement of the Stomach, all of which, when originating in this cause, put on the intermittent type, or become periodical. This "Cure" expels the poison from the blood, and consequently cures them all alike. It is an invaluable protection to emigrants and persons travelling or temporarily residing in the malarious districts. If taken occasionally or daily while exposed to the infection, that will be excreted from the system, and cannot accumulate in sufficient quantity to ripen into disease. Hence it is even more valuable for protection than cure, and few will ever suffer from Intermittents, if they avail themselves of the protection this remedy affords.

AYER'S CATHARTIC PILLS,
For all the Purposes of a Family Physic,

are so composed that disease within the range of their action can rarely withstand or evade them. Their penetrating properties search, and cleanse, and invigorate every portion of the human organism, correcting its diseased action, and restoring its healthy vitalities. As a consequence of these properties, the invalid who is bowed down with pain or physical debility is astonished to find his health or energy restored by a remedy at once so simple and inviting.

Not only do they cure the every-day complaints of everybody, but also many formidable and dangerous diseases. The agent below named is pleased to furnish gratis my American Almanac, containing certificates of their cures and directions for their use in the following complaints: *Costiveness, Heartburn, Headache arising from Disordered Stomach, Nausea, Indigestion, Pain in and Morbid Inaction of the Bowels, Flatulency, Loss of Appetite, Jaundice*, and other kindred complaints, arising from a low state of the body or obstruction of its functions. They are an excellent alterative for the renovation of the blood and the restoration of tone and strength to the system debilitated by disease.

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